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GREEK HISTORY

FROM

THEMISTOCLES to ALEXANDER

IN A SERIES OF

LIVES FROM PLUTARCH

REVISED AND ARRANGED BY

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Sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford

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PREFACE.

It is not without reason that Plutarch's *Lives*, which formerly were so much read, have in the last twenty years been so much neglected. Plutarch wrote in the time of Trajan; and we have learnt the value of cotemporary statements: it is justly felt that for the time of Pericles, his evidence is not to be compared to that of Thucydides. Plutarch is a biographer and a moralist; and our recent curiosity has been rather for the politics of the ancient world. Plutarch, in writing lives, to illustrate a point of character, very naturally neglects the order of time; but we have been busy to establish an accurate chronology. The desire of the last twenty years has been to have the entire evidence, and receive a judgment upon it. It has been but little to this purpose to read a book of selected

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GREEK HISTORY

FROM

PLUTARCH



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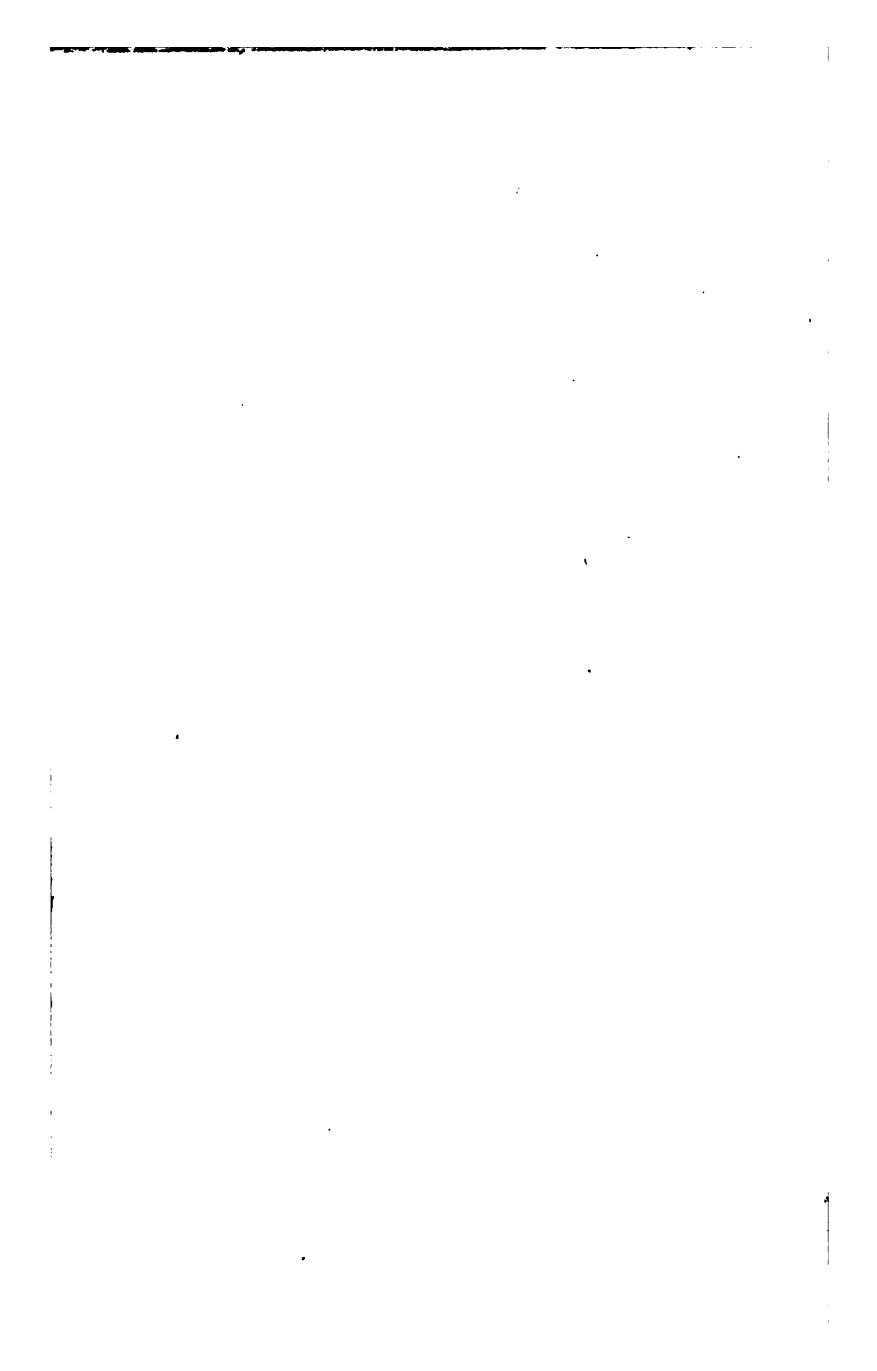
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THEMISTOCLES.





Bust of Themistocles.

THE birth of Themistocles was somewhat too obscure to do him honour. His father Neocles was not of the distinguished people of Athens, but a townsman of Phrearri, in the tribe Leontis; and by his mother's side, he is said to have been base-born.

*I am not of the noble Grecian race,
I'm poor Abrotonon, and born in Thrace ;
Let the Greek women scorn me, if they please,
I was the mother of Themistocles.*

Though Phantias says that his mother was not of Thrace, but of Caria, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe; and Neanthes adds further, that she was of Halicarnassus in Caria. And so, as illegitimate children, including those that were of the half-blood or had but one parent an Athenian, had to attend

at the Cynosarges, a wrestling-place outside the gates, dedicated to Hercules, who was also of half-blood amongst the gods, having had a mortal woman for his mother, Themistocles persuaded some of the young men of high birth to accompany him to anoint and exercise at Cynosarges; and in this ingenious way destroyed the distinction between the noble and the base-born, and between those of the whole and those of the half-blood of Athens. However, it is certain that he was related to the house of the Lycomidæ*; for Simonides records that he rebuilt the chapel of Phlya belonging to that family, and beautified it with pictures and other ornaments, after it had been burnt by the Persians.

- 2 It is confessed by all that from his youth he was of a vehement and impetuous nature, of a quick apprehension, and a strong and aspiring bent for action and state affairs. The holidays and intervals in his studies he did not spend in play or idleness, as other children, but would be always inventing or arranging some oration or declamation to himself, the subject of which was generally the excusing or accusing his companions. So that his master would often say to him: "You, my boy, will be nothing small; but great one way or other, for good or else for bad." He received reluctantly and carelessly instructions given him to improve his manners and behaviour, or to teach him any pleasing or graceful accomplishment; but whatever was said to

* This was an ancient Attic family to whom an hereditary priesthood belonged; and in their chapel at Phlya there seems to have been an inscription in verse by Simonides, which was extant in his collected works.

improve him in sagacity or in management of business, he would give attention to beyond one of his years, from confidence in his natural capacities for such things. And thus afterwards, when in company where people engaged themselves in what are commonly thought the liberal and elegant amusements, he was obliged to defend himself against the observations of those who considered themselves highly accomplished, by the somewhat arrogant retort, that he certainly could not make use of any stringed instrument; *could only, were a small and obscure city put into his hands, make it great and glorious.* Notwithstanding this, Stesimbrotus says that Themistocles was a hearer of Anaxagoras, and that he studied natural philosophy under Melissus; contrary to chronology; for Melissus commanded the Samians in their siege by Pericles, who was much Themistocles's junior; and with Pericles also Anaxagoras was intimate. They, therefore, might rather be credited, who relate that Themistocles was an admirer of Mnesiphilus the Phrearrhian, who was neither rhetorician nor natural philosopher, but a professor of that which was then called *wisdom*, consisting in a sort of political shrewdness and practical sagacity, and having come to him by succession, almost like a sect of philosophy, from Solon; but those who came afterwards, and mixed it with pleadings and legal artifices, and transformed the practical part of it into a mere art of speaking and an exercise of words, were generally called *sophists*. Themistocles resorted to Mnesiphilus, when he was already engaged in politics. But in the first essays of his youth he was not regular nor happily balanced; he allowed himself to

follow mere natural character, which, without the control of reason and instruction, is apt to hurry, upon either side, into sudden and violent courses, and very often to break away and determine upon the worst; as he afterwards owned himself, saying, that *the wildest colts make the best horses, if they only get properly trained and broken in*. But those who upon this fasten stories of their own invention, as of his being publicly disowned by his father, and that his mother died for grief of her son's ill fame, certainly calumniate him. And there are others who relate, on the contrary, that to deter him from public business, and to let him see how the people treat their leaders when they have at last no further use of them, his father showed him the old galleys as they lay forsaken and cast about upon the seashore.

- 3 But his mind, it is evident, was very early possessed with the keenest interest in public affairs, and the most passionate ambition for distinction. Eager from the first to obtain the highest place, he unhesitatingly accepted the hatred of the most powerful and influential leaders in the city, but more especially of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who throughout took the course opposed to his. And yet all this great enmity between them arose, it appears, from a very boyish occasion, both being in love with the same person, as Ariston the philosopher tells us; ever after which they took opposite sides, and were rivals in politics. Though certainly the dissimilarity of their lives and manners must be supposed to have increased the difference. For Aristides had a gentle nature, and more nobility in his way of dealing; and, in public, acting always with

a view, not to glory or popularity, but to the best interests of the state consistently with safety and honesty, he was often forced to oppose Themistocles and interfere to prevent the increase of his influence, seeing him stirring up the people to all kinds of enterprises and introducing various innovations. For it is said that Themistocles was so transported with the thoughts of glory, and so inflamed with the passion for great actions, that though he was still young when the battle of Marathon was fought against the Persians, upon the skilful conduct of the general, Miltiades, being everywhere talked about, he was observed to be

Battle
of Mara-
thon,
B.C. 490.



Plain and Tumulus of Marathon.

thoughtful and reserved, alone by himself; he passed the nights without sleep, and avoided all his usual places of recreation, and to those who wondered at the change, and inquired the reason of it, he gave the answer, that *the trophy of Miltiades would not let him sleep*. And while others were of opinion that the battle of Marathon would be an end to the war, Themistocles thought it was but the beginning of far greater conflicts, and for these, to the benefit of all Greece, he

kept himself in continual readiness, and his city also in proper training, foreseeing from far before what would happen.

- 4 And, first of all, the Athenians being accustomed to divide amongst themselves the revenue proceeding from the silver mines at Laurium, he was the only man that durst come forward and propose to the people that this distribution should cease, and that with the money ships should be built to carry on the war against the Æginetans, which was just then at its height, and they, by the number of their ships, held the sovereignty of the sea; and Themistocles thus was more easily able to gain his point, avoiding all mention of danger from Darius or the Persians, who were at a great distance, and their coming very uncertain and at that time not much to be feared; but, by a seasonable employment of the emulation and anger felt by the Athenians against the Æginetans, he induced them to prepare. So that with this money a hundred ships were built, with which they afterwards fought against Xerxes. And, henceforward, little by little, turning and drawing the city down towards the sea, in the belief that whereas by land they were not a fit match for their next neighbours, with their ships they might be able to repel the Persians and command Greece, thus, as Plato says, *from steady soldiers he turned them into mariners tossed about the sea*, and gave occasion for the reproach against him, that he took away from the Athenians the spear and the shield, and bound them to the bench and the oar. These measures he carried against the opposition, as Stesimbrotus relates, of Miltiades. And whether or no he hereby injured the purity and

true balance of government, may be a question for philosophers. But that the deliverance of Greece came at that time from the sea, and that these galleys restored Athens again after it was destroyed, were others wanting, Xerxes himself would be sufficient evidence, who, though his land forces were still entire, fled away after his defeat at sea, and thought himself no longer able to encounter the Greeks; and, as it seems to me, left Mardonius behind him, not out of any hopes he could have to bring them into subjection, but rather to hinder them from pursuing him.

Themistocles is said to have been eager in the acquisition of riches, according to some, that he might be the more liberal; for loving to sacrifice often, and to be splendid in his entertainment of strangers, he required a plentiful revenue; yet he is accused by others of having been parsimonious and sordid to that degree, that he would sell provisions which were sent to him as a present. He desired Philides, who was a breeder of horses, to give him a colt, and when he refused it, threatened that in a short time *he would turn his house into a wooden horse**, intimating that he would stir up dispute and litigation between him and his relations. In the passion for distinction and notice, he went beyond all men. When he was still young and unknown in the world, he entreated Epicles of Hermione, who was a famous player on the lute and was much sought after by the Athenians, to come and practise at home with him, being ambitious of having people inquire after his house and frequent his company. When he came to the Olympic games, and was so splendid in his

* Full, like the Trojan horse, of people ready for fighting.

equipage and entertainments, in his rich tents and furniture, that he strove to outdo Cimon, he displeased the Greeks, who thought that such magnificence might be allowed in one who was a young man and of a great family, but was a mere piece of insolence in one as yet undistinguished and without title or means for making any such display. In a dramatic contest the tragedy he paid for won the prize, which was even so early as this a matter that excited much emulation, and he put up a tablet in record of it, with the inscription, "Themistocles of Phrearrhi paid the cost of it; Phrynichus made it; Adimantus was archon." However, he was well liked by the common people; would salute every particular citizen by his own name, and always showed himself a just judge in questions of business between private men. He said to Simonides, the poet of Ceos, who desired of him, when he was commander of the army, something that was not reasonable, "Simonides, you would be no good poet if you wrote false measure, nor should I be a good magistrate if for favour I made false law." And at another time, laughing at Simonides, he said that *he was a man of little judgment to speak against the Corinthians, who were inhabitants of a great city, and to have his own picture drawn so often, having so ill-looking a face.* And gradually growing to be great, and winning the favour of the people, he at last with his faction gained the day over that of Aristides, and procured his banishment by ostracism.

Ostracism of
 Aristides,
 B.C. 483.

- 6 · When the king of Persia was now advancing against Greece, and the Athenians were in consultation who should be general, and many withdrew themselves of

their own accord, being terrified with the greatness of the danger, there was one Epicyles, son of Euphemides, a popular speaker, a man of an eloquent tongue, but of a faint heart and a slave to riches, who was desirous of the command, and was looked upon to be in a fair way to carry it by the show of hands. But Themistocles, fearing that, if the command should fall into such hands, all would be lost, bought off Epicyles and his pretensions, it is said, for a sum of money. When the king sent messengers into Greece, with an interpreter, to demand earth and water, as an acknowledgment of subjection, Themistocles, by a decree of the people, seized upon the interpreter and put him to death, for presuming to publish the barbarian orders and decrees in the Greek language. This is one of the actions he is commended for, as also for what he did to Arthmius of Zelea, who brought gold from the king of Persia to corrupt the Greeks, and was, by an order from Themistocles, degraded and disfranchised, he and his children and his posterity. But that which most of all redounded to his credit was, that he put an end to all the civil wars of Greece, composed their differences, and persuaded them to lay aside all enmity during the war with the Persians; and in this great work Chileus the Arcadian was, it is said, of great assistance to him.

Having received the command of the Athenian forces, 7 he immediately endeavoured to persuade the citizens to leave the city and to embark upon their galleys, and meet the Persians as far away as they could from Greece; but, many being against this, he led a large force, together with the Lacedæmonians, into Tempe, that in this pass they might maintain the safety of Thessaly,

which had not as yet declared for the king. But when they returned without performing anything, and it was known that not only the Thessalians, but all as far as Bœotia, was going over to Xerxes, then the Athenians more willingly hearkened to the advice of Themistocles to fight by sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium. When the contingents met here, the Greeks would have the Lacedæmonians to command, and Eurybiades to be their admiral; but the Athenians, who pretty well surpassed all the rest together in number of vessels, would not submit to come after any other, till Themistocles, perceiving the danger of this contest, yielded his own command to Eurybiades, and got the Athenians to submit, extenuating the loss by persuading them that if in this war they behaved themselves like men, he would answer for it after that, that the Greeks, of their own will, would submit to their command. And it is evident that by this moderation of his he was the chief means of the deliverance of Greece, and of the glory which the Athenians gained, of *alike surpassing their enemies in valour, and their confederates in wisdom*. But as soon as the Persian armada arrived at Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished to see such a vast number of vessels before him, and, being informed that two hundred more were sailing round behind the island of Sciathus, he immediately wanted to retire further into Greece, and get near some part of Peloponnesus, where their land army and their fleet might join; for he looked upon the Persian forces to be altogether unassailable by sea. But the Eubœans, fearing that the Greeks would forsake them, and leave them to the mercy of the enemy, sent Pelagon to

confer privately with Themistocles, taking with him a good sum of money, which, as Herodotus reports, he accepted and gave to Eurybiades. In this affair none of his own countrymen opposed him so much as Architeles, captain of the sacred galley*, who, having no money to supply his seamen, was eager to go home; but Themistocles so incensed his men against him, that they set upon him and left him not so much as his supper. And when Architeles was much disheartened and took it very ill, Themistocles immediately sent him in a chest a service of bread and meat, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, desiring him to sup to-night, and to-morrow provide for his seamen; if not, he would report it amongst the Athenians that he had received money from the enemy. So Phantias the Lesbian tells the story.

Though the fights which now followed between the 8
Greeks and Persians, in the straits of Eubœa, were not so
important as to lead to any final decision of the war, yet
the experience which the Greeks obtained in them was of
great advantage; for thus by actual trial, and in real danger,
they found out that neither number of ships, nor riches and ornaments,
nor boasting shouts, nor barbarous songs of victory, were any way
terrible to men that knew how to fight, and were resolved to come
hand to hand with their enemies; these things they were to despise,
and to come up close and grapple with their foes. This

Battles
of Artemisium,
B.C. 480.

* The Athenians had two sacred or state galleys, the *Paralus* (or the *Seaside*) and the *Salaminian*. These were used for show-purposes, for conveying religious deputations to Delos, and for sending despatches.

Pindar appears to have seen, and says justly enough of the fight at Artemisium, that

*There the sons of Athens set
The stone that freedom stands on yet.*

For the first step towards victory undoubtedly is to gain courage. Artemisium is in Eubœa, beyond the city of Histiaea, a sea-beach open to the north; most nearly opposite to it stands Olizon, in the country which formerly was under Philoctetes; there is a small temple there dedicated to Diana surnamed *of the Dawn**, and trees about it, around which again stand pillars of white marble; and if you rub them with your hand they send forth both the smell and colour of saffron. On one of the pillars these verses are engraved,—

*With numerous tribes from Asia's regions brought
The Athenians on these waters having fought
Erected, after they had quelled the Mede
To Dian this memorial of the deed.*

There is a place still to be seen upon this shore, where, in the middle of a great heap of sand, they take out from the bottom a dark powder like ashes or something that has passed the fire; and here, it is supposed, the shipwrecks and bodies of the dead were burnt.

9 But when news came from Thermopylæ to Artemi-
Battle
of Ther-
mopylæ. sium informing them that king Leonidas was slain, and that Xerxes had made himself master of all the passages by land, they returned back to the interior of Greece,

* Artemis Proseōa. "The dwellers in Methone and Thaumacia, the inhabitants of Melibœa and rocky Olizon, these," says Homer in the Catalogue, "Philoctetes commanded, skilful with the bow."

the Athenians having the command of the rear, the place of honour and danger, and much elated by what had been done. As Themistocles sailed along the coast, he took notice of the harbours and sure places for the enemies' ships to come to land at, and engraved large letters in such stones as he found there by chance, as also in others which he set up on purpose near to the landing-places, or where they were to water; in which inscriptions he called upon the Ionians to forsake the Medes, if it were possible, and come over to the Greeks, *who were their proper founders and fathers, and were now hazarding all for their liberties*; but, if this could not be done, at any rate to impede and disturb the Persians in all engagements. He hoped that these writings would prevail with the Ionians to revolt, or raise some trouble by making their fidelity doubtful to the Persians. Now, though Xerxes had already passed through Doris, and invaded the country of Phocis, and was burning and destroying the towns of the Phocians, yet the Greeks sent them no relief; and though the Athenians earnestly desired them to meet the Persians in Bœotia, before they could come into Attica, as they themselves had come forward by sea at Artemisium, they gave no ear to their request, being wholly intent upon Peloponnesus and resolved to gather all their forces together within the Isthmus, and to build a wall from sea to sea in that narrow neck of land. So that the Athenians were enraged to see themselves betrayed, and at the same time afflicted and dejected at their own destitution. For to fight alone against such a numerous army was to no purpose, and the only expedient now left them was to leave their city, and cling to their

ships; which the people were very unwilling to submit to, imagining that it would signify little now to gain a victory, and not understanding how there could be deliverance any longer, after they had once forsaken the temples of their gods, and left the tombs and monuments of their ancestors to the fury of their enemies.

- 10 Themistocles, being at a loss, and not able to draw the people over to his opinion by any human reasons, set his machines to work, as in a theatre, and employed prodigies and oracles. The serpent of Minerva, kept in the inner part of her temple, disappeared; the priests gave it out to the people, that the offerings which were set for it were found untouched; and declared, by the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had left the city, and taken her way before them towards the sea. And he often urged them with the oracle* which bade them trust to *walls of wood*, showing them that walls of wood could signify nothing else but ships; and that the island of Salamis was termed in it not miserable or unhappy, but had the epithet of *divine*, for that it should one day be associated with a great good fortune of the Greeks. At length his opinion prevailed, and he obtained a decree, that the city should be committed to the protection of Minerva *queen of Athens*; that they who were of age to bear arms should

* "While all things else are taken," said the oracle, "within the boundary of Cecrops, and the covert of divine Cithæron, Zeus grants to Athens that the wall of wood alone shall remain uncaptured; that shall help thee and thy children. Stay not for horsemen and an host of men on foot coming from the mainland; retire turning thy back; one day yet thou shalt show thy face, O divine Salamis, but thou shalt slay children of women, either at the scattering of Demeter or at the gathering."

embark, and that each should see to sending away his children, women, and slaves where he could. This decree being confirmed, most of the Athenians removed their parents, wives, and children to Trœzen, where they were received with eager good-will by the Trœzenians, who passed a vote that they should be maintained at the public charge, by a daily payment of two obols to every one, and leave be given to the children to gather fruit where they pleased, and schoolmasters paid to instruct them. The proposer of this vote was Nicagoras.* There was no public treasure at that time in Athens; but the council of Areopagus, Aristotle tells us, distributed eight drachmas to every one that served, which was a great help to the manning of the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this also to the art of Themistocles; for when the Athenians were on their way down to the haven of Piræus, the shield of Minerva, with the head of Medusa was missing; and he, under the pretext of searching for it, ransacked all places, and found among their goods considerable sums of money concealed, which he applied to the public use; and with this the soldiers and seamen were well provided for their voyage. When the whole city of Athens was thus going on board ship, it afforded a spectacle worthy of pity alike and admiration, to see them thus send away their fathers and children before them, and unmoved with their cries, and tears, and embraces pass over into the

* The guides in the time of Pausanias (a generation later than Plutarch) showed some figures in a colonnade in the market-place of Trœzen, which, they said, were representations of these Athenian women and children, erected in remembrance of their staying in the town.

island. But that which stirred compassion most of all was, that many old men, by reason of their great age, remained behind; and even the tame domestic animals could not be seen without some pity, running along the shore and howling, as desirous to be carried along with their masters that had kept them; among which it is reported that Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, had a dog that would not endure to stay behind, but leaped into the sea, and swam along by the galley's side till he came to the island of Salamis, where he fainted away and died, and that spot in the island, which is still called the Dog's Grave, is said to be his.



View of the Islands of Salamis and Egina.

- 11 Among the great actions of Themistocles at this crisis, the recall of Aristides was not the least. For before the war he had been ostracised by the party which Themistocles headed, and was in banishment; but now, perceiving that the people regretted his absence, and were fearful that he might go over to the Persians to revenge himself, and thereby ruin the affairs of Greece, Themistocles proposed a decree, that those who were banished

for a fixed time might return again, to give assistance by word and deed to the cause of Greece with the rest of their fellow-citizens. Eurybiades, on account of the greatness of Sparta, was admiral of the Greek fleet, but yet was faint-hearted in time of danger, and willing to weigh anchor and set sail for the Isthmus of Corinth, near which the land army lay encamped; which Themistocles resisted; and this was the occasion of the well-known words, when Eurybiades, to check his impatience, told him that at the Olympic games *they that start off before the rest are lashed*; "and they," replied Themistocles, "that lag behind are not crowned." Again, Eurybiades lifting up his staff as if he were going to strike, Themistocles said, "Strike if you will, but hear." Eurybiades, wondering much at his moderation, desired him to speak, and Themistocles now brought him to a better understanding. And when one who stood by him told him that it did not become those who had neither city nor house to lose, to persuade others to relinquish their habitations and forsake their countries, Themistocles gave a sharp reply: "We have indeed left our houses and our walls, base fellow, not thinking it fit to become slaves for the sake of things that have no life nor soul; and yet our city is the greatest of all Greece, consisting of two hundred galleys, which are here to defend you, if you please to let them; but if you run away and betray us, as you did once before, the Greeks shall soon hear news of the Athenians possessing as fair a country, and as large and free a city, as that they have lost." This expression made Eurybiades suspect, that if he retreated the Athenians would leave him. And when one of Eretria began to oppose him,

he said, "Have you anything to say of war, that are like an ink-fish? you have a sword, but no heart."*

- 12 Some authors tell us that while Themistocles was speaking these things upon the deck, an owl was seen flying to the right hand of the fleet, which came and sate upon the top of the mast; and this happy omen so far disposed the Greeks to follow his advice, that they presently prepared to fight. Yet when the enemy's fleet was arrived at the port of Phalerum, upon the coast of Attica, and with the number of their ships concealed all the shores about, and when they saw the king himself in person come down with his land army to the sea-side, with all his forces united, then the good reasons of Themistocles were soon forgotten, and the Peloponnesians cast their eyes again towards the Isthmus, and took it very ill if any one spoke against their returning home; they decided to depart that night, and the pilots had order what course to steer. Then Themistocles, in great distress, that the Greeks should retire, and lose the advantage of the narrow seas and strait passage, and slip home every one to his own city, considered with himself, and contrived the stratagem, which was carried out by Sicinnus. This Sicinnus was a Persian captive, but a great lover of Themistocles, and the attendant of his children. Upon this occasion he sent him privately to Xerxes, commanding him to tell the king, that *Themistocles, the admiral of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, wished to be the first to inform him, that the Greeks were ready to make their*

* The cuttle-fish has a hard mass in the inside, which the Greeks called its sword.

escape, and that he counselled him to hinder their flight, to set upon them while they were in this confusion and at a distance from their land army, and hereby destroy all their forces by sea. Xerxes was very joyful at this message, and received it as from one who wished him all that was good, and immediately issued instructions to the commanders of his ships, that they should set out with two hundred galleys at once, to encompass all the islands and inclose all the straits and passages, that none of the Greeks might escape, and should prepare the rest of the fleet for action at leisure. When this was doing, Aristides the son of Lysimachus was the first man that perceived it, and went to the tent of Themistocles, not out of any friendship, for he had been formerly banished by his means, as has been related, but to inform him how they were encompassed by their enemies. Themistocles, knowing the generosity of Aristides, and much struck by his visit at that time, imparted to him all that he had transacted by Sicinnus, and entreated him, that, as he would be more readily believed among the Greeks, he would employ his credit in helping to induce them to stay and fight their enemies in the narrow seas. Aristides applauded Themistocles, and went to the other commanders and captains of the galleys, and encouraged them to engage; yet they did not perfectly assent to him, till a galley of Tenos which deserted from the Persians, of which Panætius was commander, came in, while they were still doubting, and confirmed the news that all the straits and passages were beset; and then their anger as well as their necessity aroused them all to fight.

13 As soon as it was day Xerxes placed himself high up, to view his fleet and how it was set in order. Phano-
 demus says, he sat upon a promontory above the sanc-
 tuary of Hercules, where the coast of Attica is separated
 from the island by a narrow channel; but Acestodorus
 writes, that it was in the confines of Megara, upon those
 hills which are called the Horns, where he sat in a chair
 of gold, with many secretaries about him to write down
 all that was done in the fight. When Themistocles was
 about to sacrifice, close to the admiral's galley, there
 were three prisoners brought to him, extremely fine-
 looking men, and richly dressed in ornamented clothing
 and gold, said to be the children of Artayctes and San-
 dauce, sister to Xerxes. As soon as the prophet Eu-
 phrantides saw them, and observed that at the same
 time the fire blazed out from the offerings with a more
 than ordinary flame, and that a man sneezed on the
 right, he took Themistocles by the hand, and bid him
 consecrate the three young men for sacrifice, and offer
 them up with prayers for victory to Bacchus the De-
 vourer; *so should the Greeks not only save themselves,*
but also obtain victory. Themistocles was much dis-
 turbed at this strange and terrible prophecy, but the
 common people, who in any difficult crisis and great
 exigency ever look for relief rather to strange and ex-
 travagant, than to reasonable means, calling upon Bac-
 chus with one voice, led the captives to the altar, and
 compelled the execution of the sacrifice, as the prophet
 had commanded. This is recorded by Phanias the Les-
 bian, a philosopher well read in history.

14 The number of the enemy's ships the poet Æschylus

gives in his tragedy called the Persians *, as on his certain knowledge, in the following words —

*Xerxes, I know did into battle lead
One thousand ships ; of more than usual speed
Seven and two hundred. So is it agreed.*

The Athenians had a hundred and eighty; in every ship eighteen men fought upon the deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest men-at-arms. As Themistocles had fixed upon the most advantageous place, so with no less sagacity, he chose the best time of fighting. For he would not bring up his galleys to face the Persians, nor begin the fight, till the time of day was come when there regularly blows in a fresh breeze from the open sea, and brings in with it a strong swell into the channel; which was no inconvenience to the Greek ships, which were low-built and little above the water, but did much hurt to the Persians, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and cumbrous in their movements, as it presented them broadside to the quick charges of the Greeks, who kept their eyes upon the motions of Themistocles, as their best example, and more particularly because opposed to his ship, Ariamenes, admiral to Xerxes, a brave man, and by far the best and worthiest

* The play was first acted within a very few years after the battle, so that this is the contemporary account, or one of the contemporary accounts. The words are put in the mouth of a Persian who had fled from the battle, and tells Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, of the defeat. Æschylus himself, and his brother Cynægirus, had fought with honour at Marathon; and it is commonly said that Aminias the Deceleian, mentioned just below, was also his brother, but for this there is no good authority.

of the king's brothers, was seen throwing darts and shooting arrows from his huge galley, as from the walls of a castle. Aminias the Decelean and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in the same vessel, upon the ships meeting stem to stem and transfixing each the other with their brazen prows, so that they were fastened together, when Ariamenes attempted to board theirs, ran at him with their pikes, and thrust him into the sea; his body, as it floated amongst other shipwrecks, was known by Artemisia*, and carried to Xerxes.

- 15 It is related, that just at this time, in the middle of the fight, a great flame rose into the air above the city of Eleusis, and that sounds and voices were heard through all the Thriasian plain, as far as the sea, sounding like a number of men accompanying and escorting the mystic Iacchus †, and that a cloud seemed to form and rise from the place from whence the sounds came, and passing forward, descended upon the galleys. Others believed that they saw apparitions in the shape of armed men, reaching out their hands from the island of Ægina before the Grecian galleys; and supposed they were the Æacidæ‡, whom they had invoked to their aid before the battle. The first man that took a ship

* Artemisia was an Asiatic Greek princess, who ruled over Halicarnassus, and served under Xerxes with five galleys, and received great honour at his hands.

† There was annually a great procession, in which the image of the mystic Iacchus or Bacchus, the god of wine, was carried out from the town of Athens, amid a concourse of worshippers, to pay a visit of honour to his mother Demeter (Earth-mother), or Ceres, at Eleusis. See the "Life of Alcibiades," page 166. The battle was fought just about the time for the procession.

‡ The Æacidæ or descendants of Æacus were the native and

was Lycomedes, an Athenian, captain of a galley, who cut down its ensign, and dedicated it to Apollo the Laurel-crowned, at Phlya. And as the Persians fought in a narrow arm of the sea, and could bring but part of their fleet to fight, and fell foul of one another, the Greeks thus equalled them in strength, and fought with them till the evening, and forced them back, and obtained, as says Simonides *, that *noble and famous victory*, than which *neither amongst the Greeks nor barbarians was ever known more glorious exploit on the seas*, by the joint valour indeed and zeal of all who fought, but by the wisdom and sagacity of Themistocles.

After this sea fight, Xerxes, enraged at his ill-fortune, 16 attempted, by casting great heaps of earth and stones into the sea, to stop up the channel and to make a dam, upon which he might lead his land forces over into the island of Salamis. And Themistocles, being desirous to try the judgment of Aristides, told him that he proposed to set sail for the Hellespont, to break the bridge of ships, *so as to shut up*, he said, *Asia a prisoner within Europe*. But Aristides disliking the design said, "We have hitherto fought with an enemy who has regarded little else but his pleasure and luxury; but if we shut him up within Greece, and drive him to necessity, he that is master of such great forces will no longer sit quietly with an umbrella of gold over his head, looking upon the fight for his pleasure; but in such a strait

tutelar heroes of Ægina and Salamis. His sons were Telamon and Peleus, and their sons Ajax and Achilles.

* Simonides most likely wrote an ode in celebration of the victory. There are fragments remaining of odes which he wrote in honour of the battles of Artemisium and Thermopylæ.

will attempt all things; he will be resolute, and appear himself in person upon all occasions, he will correct his errors, and supply what he has formerly omitted through remissness, and will be better advised in all things. Therefore, it is no way our interest, Themistocles," he said, "to take away the bridge that is already made, but rather to build another, if it were possible, that he might make his way out of Europe with the more expedition." To which Themistocles answered, "If this be requisite, it will be well for us to use our art and industry, to rid ourselves of him as soon as may be;" and to this purpose he found out among the captives one of the king of Persia's eunuchs, named Arnaces, whom he sent to the king, to inform him that the Greeks, being now victorious by sea, had decreed to sail to the Hellespont, where the boats were fastened together, and destroy the bridge; but that *Themistocles being concerned for the king revealed this to him, that he might hasten towards the Asiatic seas, and pass over into his own dominions*; and in the mean time he would cause delays, and hinder the confederates from pursuing him. Xerxes no sooner heard this, but being very much terrified, he proceeded to retreat out of Greece with all speed; and the prudence of Themistocles and Aristides in this, was afterwards more fully shown by the battle of Plataea, where Mardonius, with a very small fraction of the forces of Xerxes, put the Greeks in danger of losing all.

Battle
of Pla-
tea,
B.C. 479.

- 17 Herodotus writes, that of all the cities of Greece, *Ægina* was held to have performed the best service in the battle; while all single men yielded to Themistocles, though, out of envy, unwillingly; and when they re-

turned to the entrance of Peloponnesus, where the several commanders delivered their suffrages at the altar, to determine who was most worthy, every one gave the first vote for himself and the second for Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians carried him with them to Sparta, where, giving the rewards of valour to Eurybiades, and of wisdom and conduct to Themistocles, they crowned him with olive, presented him with the best chariot in the city, and sent three hundred young men to accompany him to the confines of their country. And at the next Olympic games, when Themistocles entered the course, the spectators took no farther notice of those who were contesting the prizes, but spent the whole day in looking upon him, showing him to the strangers, admiring him, and applauding him by clapping their hands, and other expressions of joy, so that he himself, much gratified, confessed to his friends that he then reaped the fruit of all his labours for the Greeks.

76th
Olympiad.
B.C.476.

He was indeed by nature a great lover of honour, as 18 is evident from the anecdotes recorded of him. When chosen admiral by the Athenians, he would not quite conclude any single matter of business, either public or private, but deferred all till the day they were to set sail, that, by despatching a great quantity of business all at once, and having to meet a great variety of people, he might make an appearance of greatness and power. Viewing the dead bodies cast up by the sea, he perceived bracelets and necklaces of gold about them, yet passed on, only showing them to a friend that followed him, saying, "Take you these things, for you are not Themistocles." He said to Antiphates, a

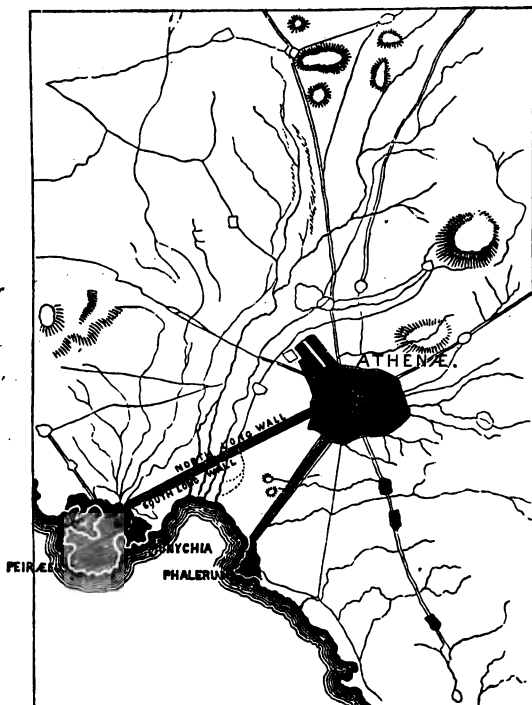
handsome young man who had formerly avoided, but now in his glory courted him, "Time, young man, has taught us both a lesson." He said that the Athenians did not honour him or admire him, but *made as it were a sort of plane-tree of him; sheltered themselves under him in bad weather, and as soon as it was fine, plucked his leaves and cut his branches.* When the Seriphian told him that he had not obtained this honour by himself, but by the greatness of his city, he replied, "You speak truth; I should never have been famous if I had been of Seriphus; nor you, had you been of Athens." When another of the generals, who thought he had performed a considerable service for the Athenians, boastfully compared his actions with those of Themistocles, he told him that *once upon a time the Day after the Festival found fault with the Festival; "On you there is nothing but hurry and trouble and preparation, but when I come everybody sits down quietly and enjoys himself;" which the Festival admitted was true, but "if I had not come first, you would not have come at all."* "Even so," he said, "if Themistocles had not come before, where had you been now?" Laughing at his own son, who got his mother, and by his mother's means, his father also, to indulge him, he told him that he had the most power of any one in Greece, "for the Athenians command the rest of Greece, I command the Athenians, your mother commands me, and you command your mother." Loving to be singular in all things, when he had land to sell, he ordered the crier to give notice that *there were good neighbours near it.* Of two who courted his daughter, he preferred the man of worth to the one who was rich, saying he de-

sired *a man without riches, rather than riches without a man*. Such was the character of his sayings.

Immediately after the war, he set about to rebuild ¹⁹ and fortify the city of Athens, bribing, as Theopompus reports, the Lacedæmonian Ephors not to be against it, but, as most relate it, overreaching and deceiving them. For, under pretext of an embassy, he went to Sparta, whereupon the Lacedæmonians charging him with rebuilding the walls, and Polyarchus coming on purpose from Ægina to denounce it, he denied the fact, bidding them send people to Athens to see whether it were so or no; by which delay he got time for the building of the wall, and also placed these ambassadors in the hands of his countrymen as hostages for him; and so, when the Lacedæmonians knew the truth, they did him no hurt, but, suppressing all display of the anger which they felt, sent him away. Next he proceeded to establish the Piræus, observing the great natural advantages of the harbours there*, and desirous to unite the whole city with the sea, and to reverse, in a manner, the policy of the ancient Athenian kings; who, endeavouring to withdraw their subjects from the sea, and to accustom them to live, not by sailing about, but by planting and tilling the earth, spread the story of the dispute between Minerva and Neptune for the sovereignty of Athens, in which Minerva, by producing to the judges the olive tree, was declared to have won; whereas Themistocles did not only *knead up*, as Aristophanes says, *the port*

* The old ports of Athens had been Munychia and Phalerum. The new harbour, Piræus, contained, it was said, three separate harbours in one: Cantharus, Zea, and Aphrodisium.

and the city into one, but made the city absolutely the dependent and the adjunct of the port, and the land of the sea, which increased the power and confidence of the people against the nobility; the strength of the state being now in its sailors and boatswains and pilots.



Plan of the Harbours of Athens.

Thus it was one of the orders of the thirty tyrants, that the speaker's stand in the assembly at the Pnyx,

which had faced towards the sea, should be turned round towards the land; implying their opinion that the empire by sea had been the origin of the democracy, and that the farming population were not so much opposed to oligarchy.

Themistocles, however, entertained yet higher 20 thoughts, with a view to naval supremacy. For after the departure of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet had come into Pagasæ, where they wintered, Themistocles, in a public oration to the people of Athens, told them that he could tell them a design that would tend greatly to their interests and safety, but it was of such a nature, that it could not be made generally public. The Athenians ordered him to impart it to Aristides only; and, if he approved of it, to put it in practice. And when Themistocles had disclosed to him that his design was to burn the Grecian fleet in the arsenal of Pagasæ, Aristides coming out to the people, gave this report of the secret of Themistocles, that no proposal could be *more politic or more dishonourable*; on which the Athenians commanded Themistocles to think no farther of it. When the Lacedæmonians proposed, at the general council of the Amphictyonians, that the representatives of those cities which were not in the league, nor had fought against the Persians, should be excluded, Themistocles, fearing that the Thessalians, with those of Thebes, Argos, and others, being thrown out of the council, the Lacedæmonians would become wholly masters of the votes, and do what they pleased, supported the deputies of the cities, and prevailed with the members then sitting to alter their opinion in this point, showing them that there were but one and thirty cities

which had partaken in the war, and that most of these also were very small; how intolerable would it be, if the rest of Greece should be excluded, and the general council should come to be ruled by two or three great cities. By this chiefly he incurred the displeasure of the Lacedæmonians, whose honours and favours were
 21 now shown to Cimon, with a view to raising up him as a rival in the state to Themistocles.

He was also burdensome to the confederates, sailing about the islands and collecting money from them. Herodotus says, that requiring money of those of the island of Andros, he told them that he had brought with him *two goddesses, Persuasion and Force*; and they answered him that they also had two great goddesses to withhold them from giving him any money, *Poverty and Impossibility*. And Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, reprehends him somewhat bitterly for being wrought upon by money to let some who were banished return, while abandoning, for money's sake also, himself, who was his guest and friend. The verses are these:—

*Pausanias you may praise, and Xanthippus he be for,
 For Leutychidas a third; Aristides, I proclaim,
 From the sacred Athens came
 The one true man of all; for Themistocles Latona doth abhor,*

*The liar, traitor, cheat, who to gain his filthy pay,
 Timocreon, his friend, neglected to restore
 To his native Rhodian shore;
 Three silver talents took, and departed (curses with him) on his way,*

*Restoring people here, expelling here, and killing there,
 Filling evermore his purse; and at the Isthmus gave a treat,
 To be laughed at, of cold meat;
 Men ate, and prayed the gods, to take their host, the sooner the better, elsewhere*

But after the sentence and banishment of Themistocles, Timocreon reviles him yet more immoderately and wildly, in a poem which begins thus,—

*Unto all the Greeks repair
O Muse, and tell these verses there,
As is fitting and is fair.*

The story is, that it was put to the question whether Timocreon should be banished for siding with the Persians, and Themistocles gave his vote against him. So when Themistocles was accused of intriguing with them, Timocreon made these lines upon him,—

*So now Timocreon, indeed, is not the sole friend of the Mede,
There are some knaves besides ; nor is it only mine that fails,
But other foxes have lost tails.—*

When his fellow-citizens had now begun to listen 22 willingly to those who traduced him, he was obliged to give offence by putting them in mind of the services he had performed, and would ask those who complained of him, *whether they were weary with receiving benefits often from the same person*. People also were ill-pleased by his building a temple to Diana, with the epithet, added by himself, of *Aristobule**, as if to intimate that he had given the *Best Counsel* not only to the Athenians, but to all Greece. He built it near his own house, in the quarter of Melita, where now the public officers carry out the bodies of such as are executed, and throw the halters and clothes of those that are strangled or otherwise put to death.†

* Diana of Best Counsel, Aristo-búle.

† Perhaps “of those who hang or strangle themselves.”

Ostra-
cism of
Them-
istocles,
B.C. 471.

There is to this day a small figure of Themistocles in the temple of Diana of Best Counsel, which represents him to be a person not only of a noble mind, but also of a most heroic aspect. So at last the people banished him, making use of the ostracism to humble his eminence and authority, as was their custom with all whom they thought too powerful, or by their greatness disproportionable to the equality requisite in a popular government. For the ostracism was instituted not to punish offenders, but to relieve and mitigate envious feelings, which find relief in the humiliation of eminent men, and which, by fixing this disgrace upon them, might vent some part of their rancour.

Death
of Pau-
sanias,
B.C. 467.

- 23 Themistocles being banished from Athens, while he stayed at Argos, the detection of Pausanias happened, which gave such advantage to his enemies, that Leobotes of Agraule, son of Alcmaeon, indicted him of treason, the Spartans also supporting the accusation. When Pausanias went about his treasonable design, he concealed it at first from Themistocles, though he were his friend; but when he saw him expelled out of the commonwealth, and how impatiently he took his banishment, he ventured to communicate it to him, and desired his assistance, showing him the king of Persia's letters, and exasperating him against the Greeks, as a villanous, ungrateful people. However Themistocles declined the proposals of Pausanias, and wholly refused to be a party in the enterprise; though he never revealed his communications, nor disclosed the conspiracy to any man, either hoping that Pausanias would desist from his intentions, or expecting that so inconsiderate

an attempt after such chimerical objects would be discovered by other means. But after Pausanias was put to death, letters and writings being found concerning this matter, which rendered Themistocles suspected, the Lacedæmonians were clamorous against him, and his enemies among his own countrymen accused him; when, being absent from Athens, he made his answer by letters, especially urging in his defence now, what had formerly been the points alleged against him. He wrote to the citizens, in answer to the allegations of his enemies, that *he who was always ambitious to govern, and not of a character or a disposition to serve, would never have been likely to sell himself and his country into slavery to a barbarous and hostile nation.* However the people, being persuaded by his accusers, sent officers to take him and bring him away to be tried before the Greeks.

But having timely notice of it, he passed over into ²⁴ the island of Corcyra, where the state was under obligations to him; for being chosen as arbitrator in a difference between them and the Corinthians, he decided the case by ordering the Corinthians to pay down twenty talents, and to have the town of Leucas considered a joint colony from both cities. From thence he fled into Epirus, and the Athenians and Lacedæmonians still pursuing him, he threw himself upon chances of safety that seemed all but desperate. For he fled for refuge to Admetus, king of the Molossians, who had formerly made some request to the Athenians, when Themistocles was in his authority, and had been disdainfully used and insulted by him, and had let it appear plain enough that could he lay hold of him, he

Flight of
Themistocles,
B.C. 466.

would take his revenge. Yet now in his distress, Themistocles, fearing the recent hatred of his own fellow-citizens more than the old displeasure of the king, put himself at the mercy of this, and became an humble suppliant to Admetus, after a peculiar manner, quite different from any common custom. For taking the king's son, who was then a child, in his arms, he laid himself down at his hearth; this being the most sacred, and only manner of supplication among the Molossians which was not to be refused. And some say that the king's wife Phthia intimated to Themistocles this way of petitioning, and placed her young son with him before the hearth; others, that king Admetus, that he might be under a religious obligation not to deliver him up to his pursuers, prepared and enacted with him a sort of stage-play to this effect. Epicrates of Acharnæ privately conveyed his wife and children out of Athens, and sent them to him hither, for which afterwards Cimon condemned him, and put him to death; so Ste-simbrotus relates, and yet somehow, either forgetting this himself, or making Themistocles to be little mindful of it, says presently that he sailed into Sicily, and desired in marriage the daughter of Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, promising to bring the Greeks under his power; and on Hiero refusing him, departed thence into Asia.

- 25 But it is not probable that such was the fact. For Theophrastus writes in his work on Monarchy, that when Hiero sent race-horses to the Olympic games, and erected a pavilion sumptuously furnished, Themistocles made an oration to the Greeks, inciting them to pull down the tyrant's tent, and not to suffer

his horses to run. And Thucydides says that passing over land to the Ægean Sea, he took ship at Pydna, not being known to any one on board, till being alarmed on seeing the vessel driven by the winds near Naxos, which was then besieged by the Athenians, he made himself known to the master and pilot, and partly entreating them, partly threatening that if they went on shore, he would accuse them, and make the Athenians believe that they did not take him in out of ignorance, but that he had bribed them with money from the beginning, he thus compelled them to bear off and stand out to sea, and sail forward towards the coast of Asia. A great part of his estate was privately conveyed away by his friends, and sent after him by sea into Asia, besides which there was discovered and confiscated to the value of a hundred talents, as Theopompus writes; Theophrastus says eighty; though Themistocles was never worth three talents before he was concerned in public affairs.

When he arrived at Cyme, and understood that all 26 along the coast there were many laid wait for him, and particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, (for the game was worth the hunting for such as were thankful to make money by any means, the king of Persia having offered by public proclamation two hundred talents to him that should take him,) he fled to Ægæ, a petty town of the Æolians, where no one knew him but only his host Nicogenes, who was the richest man in Æolia, and well known to the great men of Inner Asia. Whilst Themistocles lay hid for some days in his house, one night after a sacrifice and supper ensuing, Olbuis, the attendant upon Nicogenes's children,

fell into a sort of frenzy and fit of inspiration, and cried out in verse,—

*Night shall speak, and night instruct thee,
By the voice of night conduct thee.*

After this Themistocles, going to bed, dreamed that he saw a snake coil itself up upon his belly, and so creep to his neck; then, as soon as it touched his face, it turned into an eagle, which spread its wings over him, and took him up and flew away with him a great distance; then there appeared a herald's golden wand, and upon this at last it set him down securely, after infinite terror and disturbance. His departure was effected by Nicogenes by the following artifice. The barbarous nations in general, and amongst them the Persians especially, are extremely jealous, severe, and suspicious about their women, not only their wives, but also their bought slaves and concubines, whom they keep so strictly, that no one ever sees them abroad; they spend their lives shut up within doors, and when they take a journey, are carried in close tents, curtained in on all sides, and set upon a waggon. Such a travelling carriage being prepared for Themistocles, they hid him in it and carried him on his journey, and told those whom they met or spoke with upon the road, that they were conveying a young Greek woman out of Ionia to a nobleman at court.

27 Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus say that Xerxes was dead, and that Themistocles had the interview with his son; but Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and many others, write that he came to Xerxes. The chronological tables better agree with the account of Thucy-

Death of
Xerxes,
B.C. 465.

dides, though neither can their statements be said to be quite set at rest. However, when Themistocles was come to the critical point, he applied himself first to Artabanus, commander of a thousand men, telling him that he was a Greek, and desired to speak with the king about important affairs, concerning which the king was extremely solicitous. Artabanus answered him, "O stranger, the laws of men are different, and one thing is honourable to one man, and to others another; but it is honourable for all to uphold and observe their own laws. It is the habit of the Greeks, we are told, to admire above all things independence and equality; but amongst our many excellent laws, we account this the most excellent, to honour the king, and worship him, as the image of the Great Preserver of the universe. If, then, you shall consent to our laws, and fall down before the king and worship him, you may both see him and speak to him; but if your mind be otherwise, you must make use of others to intercede for you, for it is not the national custom here for the king to give audience to any one that does not fall down before him." Themistocles, hearing this, replied, "Artabanus, I that come hither to increase the power and glory of the king, will not only submit myself to your laws, since so it has pleased the god who exalted the Persian empire to this greatness, but will also cause many more to be worshippers and adorers of the king. Let not this, therefore, be an impediment why I should not communicate to the king what I have to impart." Artabanus asking him, "Who must we tell him that you are? for your words signify you to be no ordinary person," Themistocles answered, "No man, O

Artabanus, must be informed of this before the king himself." Thus Phanias relates; to which Eratosthenes, in his treatise on Riches, adds, that it was by the means of a woman of Eretria, who was kept by Artabanus, that he obtained this audience and interview with him.

- 28 When he was introduced to the king, and had fallen down before him, he stood silent, till the king commanding the interpreter to ask him who he was?— he replied, "O king, I am Themistocles the Athenian, driven into banishment by the Greeks. The evils that I have done to the Persians are numerous; but my benefits to them yet greater, in withholding the Greeks from pursuit, so soon as the deliverance of my own country allowed me to show kindness also to you. I come with a mind suited to my present calamities; prepared alike for favours and for anger; to welcome your gracious reconciliation, and to deprecate your wrath. Take my own countrymen for witnesses of the services I have done for Persia, and make use of this occasion to show the world your virtue, rather than to satisfy your indignation. If you save me, you will save your suppliant; if otherwise, will destroy an enemy of the Greeks." He talked also of divine admonitions, such as the vision which he saw at Nicogenes's house, and the direction given him by the oracle of Dodona, where Jupiter commanded him *to go to him that had a name like his*, by which he understood that he was sent from Jupiter hither to him, seeing *they both were, and had the name of being, great kings.** The king heard him

* The *Great King* was the usual title by which the king of Persia was spoken of among the Greeks.

attentively, and though he admired his temper and courage, gave him no answer at that time; but when he was with his friends, rejoiced in his great good fortune, and prayed that Arimanius* might give to all his enemies the same mind, to abuse and expel the bravest men amongst them. Then, it is said, he sacrificed to the gods, and presently fell to drinking, and was so well pleased that, in the night, in the middle of his sleep, he cried out for joy three times, "I have Themistocles, the Athenian."

In the morning, calling together the chief of his court, 29 he had Themistocles brought before him, who expected no good of it, when he saw, for example, the officers at the door, when they heard who it was, looking fiercely at him, and giving him ill language. As he came forward towards the king, who was seated, the rest keeping silence, passing by Roxanes, a commander of a thousand men, he heard him, with a slight groan, say, without stirring out of his place, "Thou subtle Greek serpent, the king's good genius hath brought thee hither." Yet when he came into the presence, and again fell down, the king saluted him, and spoke to him kindly, telling him *he was now indebted to him two hundred talents*; for it was just and reasonable that he should receive the reward which was proposed to whosoever should bring Themistocles; and promising much more, and encouraging him, he commanded him to speak freely what he would concerning the affairs of Greece. Themistocles replied, that *a man's discourse was like a rich Persian carpet, the beautiful figures and patterns of which can only be shown by spreading and extending it out; when it is contracted*

* Arimanius (Ahriman) the Evil Power, as Oromasdes (or Ormuzd) is the Good Power, in the ancient Persian theology.

and folded up, they are obscured and lost : and, therefore, he desired time. The king being pleased with the comparison, and bidding him take what time he would, he desired a year ; in which time, having learnt the Persian language sufficiently, he spoke with the king by himself without the help of an interpreter, it being supposed that he discoursed only about the affairs of Greece ; but there happening, at the same time, great alterations at court, and removals of the king's favourites, he drew upon himself the envy of the great people, who imagined that he had taken the boldness to speak concerning them. For the favours shown to other strangers were nothing in comparison with the honours conferred on him ; the king invited him to partake of his own pastimes and recreations both at home and abroad, carrying him with him a-hunting, and made him his intimate so far, that he permitted him to see the queen-mother, and converse frequently with her, and by the king's command he was also made acquainted with the Magian learning. When Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, being ordered by the king to ask whatsoever he pleased and it should immediately be granted him, desired that he might make his



The Cidaris, or royal bonnet, worn by Persian Kings.
(From a Syrian Medal.)

public entrance, and be carried in state through the city of Sardis, with the royal *Cidaris* upon his head,

Mithropaustes, cousin to the king, took his hand and told him, that the Cidaris *had no brains in the inside of it*; and if Jupiter should give him his lightning and thunder, he would not any the more be Jupiter for that; the king also repulsed him with anger, and seemed determined to be inexorable to all supplications on his behalf. Nevertheless Themistocles succeeded, and prevailed upon him to forgive him. And it is reported that the succeeding kings, in whose reigns there was a greater communication between the Greeks and Persians, when they invited any considerable Greek into their service, to encourage him, would write and promise him that *he should be greater with them than Themistocles had been*. They relate, also, how Themistocles, when he was in great prosperity and courted by many, seeing himself splendidly served at his table, turned to his children, and said, "Children, we had been ruined if we had not been ruined." Most writers say that he had three cities given him, Magnesia, Myus, and Lampsacus, to maintain him in bread, wine, and meat. Neanthes of Cyzicus, and Phantias, add two more, Palæscopsis, to provide him with clothes, and Percote, with bedding and furniture for his house.

As he was going down towards the sea-coast, to take 30 measures against Greece, a Persian, whose name was Epixyes, governor of the upper Phrygia, laid wait to kill him, having for that purpose provided a long time before a number of Pisidians, who were to set upon him when he should stop to rest at a city that is called Lion's-head. But Themistocles, sleeping in the middle of the day, saw the Mother of the gods appear to him

in a dream and say to him, "Themistocles, keep back from the Lion's-head, for fear you fall into the lion's jaws; for this advice I expect that your daughter Mnesiptolema should be my servant." Themistocles was much astonished, and when he had made his vows to the goddess, left the broad road, and making a circuit, went another way, changing his intended station to avoid that place, and at night took up his rest in the fields. One of the sumpter-horses, which carried the furniture for his tent, having fallen that day into the river, his servants spread out the curtains, which were wet, and hung them up to dry. In the mean time the Pisidians made towards them with their swords drawn, and not discerning exactly by the moon what it was that was stretched out, thought it to be the tent of Themistocles, and that they should find him resting himself within it; but when they came near, and lifted up the hangings, those who watched there fell upon them and took them. Themistocles, having escaped this danger, in admiration of the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, built, in memory of it, a temple in the city of Magnesia, which he dedicated to Dindymene, Mother of the gods, and made his daughter, Mnesiptolema, her priestess.

- 31 When he came to Sardis, he visited the temples of the gods, and observing, at his leisure, their buildings, ornaments, and the number of their offerings, he saw in the temple of the Mother of the gods, the statue of a virgin in brass, two cubits high, called the Water-bringer. Themistocles had caused this to be made and set up when he was surveyor of waters at Athens, out of the fines of those whom he detected in drawing off

and diverting the public water by pipes for their private use; and whether he had some regret to see this image in captivity, or was desirous to let the Athenians see in what great credit and authority he was with the king, he entered into a treaty with the governor of Lydia, to persuade him to send this statue back to Athens; which so enraged the Persian officer, that he told him he would write the king word of it. Themistocles being affrighted hereat, got access to his wives and concubines, by presents of money to whom he appeased the fury of the governor; and afterwards behaved with more reserve and circumspection, fearing the envy of the Persians; and did not, as Theopompus writes, continue to travel about Asia, but lived quietly in his own house in Magnesia, where for a long time he passed his days in great security, enjoying rich presents, and honoured equally with the greatest persons in the Persian empire; the king, at that time, not minding his concerns with Greece, being taken up with the affairs of Inner Asia. But when Egypt revolted, being assisted by the Athenians, and the Greek galleys roved about as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon had made himself master of the seas, the king turned his thoughts thither; and purposing to retaliate upon the Greeks, and to check the growth of their power against him, began to raise forces, and send out commanders, and to despatch messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to put him in mind of his promise, and to summon him to act against the Greeks. Yet he did not now let his animosity against his countrymen carry him away, neither was he any way elevated with the thoughts of the honour

Revolt
of
Egypt,
B.C. 460.

and powerful command he was to have in this war; on the contrary, judging perhaps, that the object would not be obtained, the Greeks having at that time, beside other great commanders, Cimon in particular, who was gaining wonderful military successes, but chiefly, being ashamed to sully the glory of his former great actions, and of his famous victories and trophies, he most wisely determined to put a conclusion to his life agreeable to its previous course: he sacrificed to the gods, and invited his friends; and having entertained them, and shaken hands with them, drank bull's blood, as is the usual story; as others state, a poison producing instant death; and ended his days in the city of Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in politics and in the wars, in government and command. The king being informed of the cause and manner of his death, admired him, they say, more than ever, and continued to show kindness to his friends and relations.

- 32 Themistocles left three sons by Archippe, daughter to Lysander of Alopece; Archeptolia, Polyeuctus, and Cleophantus. Plato the philosopher mentions the last*

** How strange it is, says Plato, that none of the great statesmen have been able to teach their sons to be statesmen after them. "You have often heard it said, that Themistocles taught his son Cleophantus to be such an excellent rider, that he could stand upright on horseback, and throw a javelin thus standing upright,—the son obviously was not without ability,—but did you ever hear it said by any one that Cleophantus showed any virtue, skill, or wisdom in the same sort of things as did his father? Yet he, undoubtedly, had virtue been a thing to be taught, would have taught his son the virtue and wisdom in which he himself excelled." Is virtue, he asks, a thing that cannot be taught, and can only be received by the gift of God?*

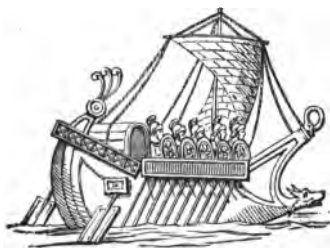
as a most excellent horseman but otherwise insignificant person. Of two sons yet older than these, Neocles and Diocles, Neocles died when he was young by the bite of a horse, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather, Lysander. He had many daughters, of whom Mnesiptolema, whom he had by his second marriage, was wife to Archeptolis, her brother by another mother; Italia was married to Panthöides, of the island of Chios; Sybaris to Nicomedes, an Athenian. After the death of Themistocles, his nephew, Phrasicles, went to Magnesia, and married, with her brothers' consent, another daughter, Nicomache, and took charge of her sister Asia, the youngest of all the children. The Magnesians possess a splendid sepulchre of Themistocles, which stands in their market-place. Concerning his remains, it is not worth while taking notice of what Andocides states in his Address to the Companions*; how the Athenians robbed his tomb, and threw his ashes into the air; for he feigns this to exasperate the oligarchical faction against the people; and there is no man living but can see that Phylarchus simply invents in his history, where he all but uses an actual stage machine, and brings in a Neocles and a Demopolis, as the sons of Themistocles, to create interest and emotion, as if it were a play. Diodorus the geographer says in his work on Tombs, but by conjecture rather than of certain knowledge, that near the port of Piræus, where the land runs out like an elbow from the pro-

* Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, when party feeling ran highest, clubs were formed for political purposes, and this Address was, no doubt, to the Members or Associates of one of these.

montory of Alcimus, when you have doubled the cape and passed inward, where the sea is always calm, there is a large piece of masonry, and upon this the tomb of Themistocles, in the shape of an altar; and Plato, the comedian, confirms this, he believes, in these verses,—

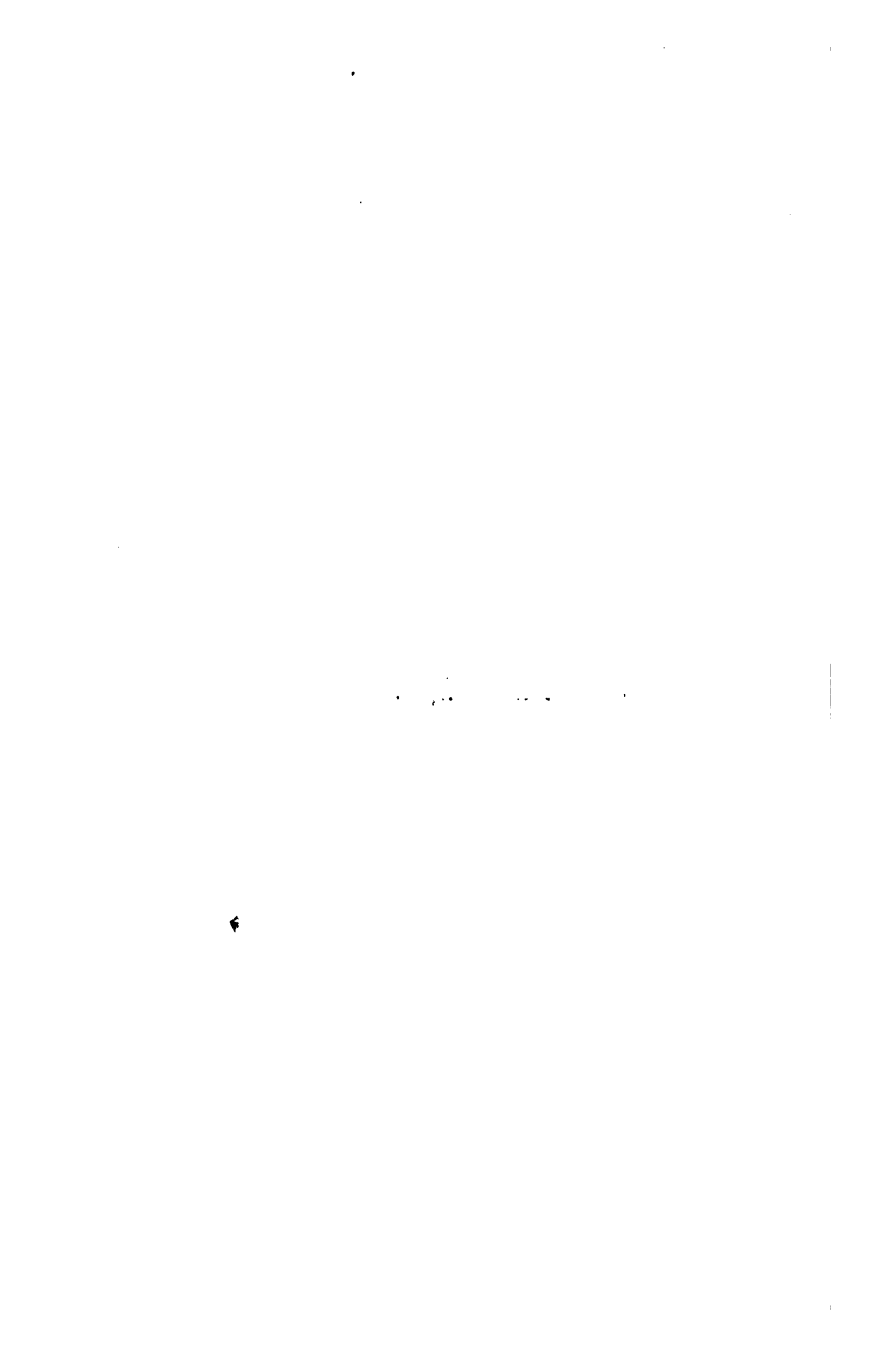
*Thy tomb is fairly placed upon the strand,
Where merchants still shall greet it with the land;
Still in and out 'twill see them come and go,
And watch the galleys as they race below.*

Various honours also and privileges were granted to the kindred of Themistocles at Magnesia, which were observed down to our times; and were enjoyed by another Themistocles of Athens, with whom I had an intimate acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.



Greek Ship. (From the Vatican Virgil.)

PERICLES.





Bust of Pericles. (From the Vatican Museum.)

CÆSAR* once seeing some wealthy strangers at Rome, 1 carrying about in their arms young puppy-dogs and monkeys, and fondling them, asked, it is said, *whether the women in their country did not bear children*; a prince like reprimand to people who lavish upon brute beasts the affection and kindness which nature gave us to be bestowed on those of our own kind. With like reason may we not blame those who misuse a love of inquiry and observation, which nature has similarly given, by expending it on objects unworthy of the attention

* Probably Augustus.

either of their eyes or their ears, to the neglect of such as are excellent in themselves, and would do them good? The mere outward sense, which simply responds to the impression of objects that strike upon it, perhaps cannot help taking notice of whatever addresses it, be it what it will, useful or unuseful. But in the exercise of his mental perception every man has a natural power to turn himself, if he chooses, upon all occasions, and to change and shift with perfect ease to what he judges to be desirable. And thus it becomes a matter of duty to seek the best of everything, so as not only to employ contemplation, but also to be improved by it. For as those colours are suitable to the eye whose freshness and pleasantness stimulate and strengthen the sight, even so our intellectual perceptions should be directed to such objects as will, with the sense of delight, call them forth and allure them to their proper good. Such are the acts of virtue; which also in the minds of mere readers about them produce an emulation and eagerness, that may lead to imitation. In other cases the admiration of the thing done is not immediately followed by any desire of doing the like. Very often, on the very contrary, when we are pleased with the work, we set little by the workman; we may like perfumes and purple dyes well enough, but we do not think dyers and perfumers otherwise than low and sordid people. It was not said amiss by Antisthenes, when people told him that Ismenias was an *admirable piper*, "He is but a miserable human being, otherwise he would not have been an admirable piper." And Philip very happily asked his son, who once at a merry-meeting played a piece of music skilfully

on a lute, if he was not ashamed to play so well? For it is sufficient for a king or prince to find leisure sometime to hear others sing; and he does the muses quite honour enough when he pleases to be but present, while others engage in such exercises of skill.

A man who busies himself in mean occupations is, in the very pains he takes about things of little or no use, an evidence against himself of his negligence and indisposition to what is truly good. No generous-minded young man ever wished, at the sight of the statue of Jupiter at Pisa, to be a Phidias*; or on seeing that of Juno at Argos, to be a Polycletus; or felt induced by his pleasure in their poems to wish to be an Anacreon, or Philetas, or Archilochus. It does not follow, if a piece of work pleases by its beauty, that he who made it deserves our respect. And so no benefit really comes to the spectators, from looking at things the sight of which raises no passion for imitation, or impulse and stir of inclination to go and do the like. But virtue, by its actions, at once puts us into this state of mind,—we admire what is done and desire to imitate the doers. The blessings of fortune we

* This, which is a little strange to us, seems to have been the general feeling of the Greeks and Romans. It is given in words very nearly the same in a passage of Lucian. And in these later times, when the arts were become more luxurious, it was more obviously justifiable. Artists at the end of the first century of the Roman Empire were really mere decorators. But there are similar expressions much earlier. Anacreon and Philetas are amatory poets, and Archilochus, a satirist. But the Jupiter at Pisa, where the Olympian games were held, was Phidias's greatest work: and the Juno at Argos by Polycletus was thought worthy to be reckoned with it.

want to possess and enjoy; those of virtue we wish to practise and exercise; we are content to receive the former from others, the latter we wish others to experience from us.* Moral good is a practical stimulus to itself; it is no sooner seen, than it inspires an impulse to act; not influencing the mind and character by a mere imitation which we look at, but creating by the narrative of the fact a moral purpose which we form. And so we have thought it well to spend our time and pains in writing the lives of famous persons; and have taken as our present subject the life of Pericles, which we may compare in Roman history with that of Fabius Maximus, who carried on the war against Hannibal. These two were alike, as in their other virtues and good parts, so especially in their mild and upright temper and demeanour, and in that capacity to bear the ill-humour of their fellow-citizens and colleagues in office, which made them both most useful and serviceable to the interests of their countries. Whether our judgment in this be correct the reader may determine by what follows.

- 3 Pericles was of the tribe Acamantis, and the township Cholargus, of the noblest birth both on his father's and mother's side. Xanthippus, his father, who defeated
 B.C. 479. the king of Persia's generals in the battle of Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who drove out the sons of Pisistratus and nobly put an end to their tyranny and usurpation, and made a body of laws, and

* Riches, honour, high birth, great friends, and worldly advantages, as opposed to courage, temperance, justice, liberality, magnanimity, and the like.—This chapter might in general be headed, On the superiority of History and Biography to the Fine Arts.

settled a model of government admirably tempered and suited for the harmony and safety of the people. His mother, being near her time, fancied in a dream that she was brought to bed of a lion, and a few days after was delivered of Pericles, in other respects perfectly formed, only his head was somewhat longish and out of proportion. For which reason almost all the statues that were made of him have the head covered with a helmet, the workmen apparently being willing not to expose him. The poets of Athens called him *squill-head*, from the squill, or sea-onion. One of the comedy-writers, Cratinus, in the *Chirons*, tells us that *ancient Time took Sedition to wife,*

*And with her brought to life
That tyrant far-famed,
Whom the gods the supreme skull-compeller* have named.*

And in the *Nemesis* addresses him, *Come, Jove, great god-head, come.* Teleclides, another, says, that now, in embarrassment with political difficulties, *he sits in the city fainting underneath the weight of his head, and now again from his huge gallery of a head sends forth trouble to the state.* And a third, Eupolis, in the co-

* *Nephelegéreta* is in Homer's verse the continual epithet of Zeus, or Jove, the god of thunder, the gatherer and accumulator of the clouds, the cloud-compelling, (*compellere* being the Latin for gathering cattle,) and *Kephalegérēta* (from *képhale*, a head) is Cratinus's slight variation. Cratinus is the comic poet of the time of Pericles; he lived from before the Persian some way on into the Peloponnesian War; Eupolis is later, and Plato later still, both cotemporary with Aristophanes. They are rather of the generation of Alcibiades. Teleclides and Hermippus are earlier, and write in his lifetime.

medy called the Demi, in a series of questions about each of the demagogues, whom he makes in the play to come up from hell, upon Pericles being named last, exclaims,—

*And here by way of summary, now we've done,
Behold, in brief, the heads of all in one.*

- 4 The master that taught him music*, most authors are agreed, was Damon (whose name, they say, ought to be pronounced with the first syllable short). Though Aristotle tells us that he was well practised in all accomplishments of this kind by Pythoclides. Damon, it is not unlikely, being a consummate sophist, out of policy sheltered himself under the profession of music to conceal from people in general his skill in other things, and in reality attended Pericles, the young athlete of politics, so to say, as his training-master in exercises of that sort. Damon's lyre however did not prove altogether a successful blind; he was banished the country by ostracism for ten years, as a dangerous intermeddler and a favourer of arbitrary power, and became an object for the jests of the stage. As, for instance, Plato, the comic poet, introduces a character who questions him —

*Tell me, if you please,
Since you're the Chiron who taught Pericles.*

Pericles was also a hearer of Zeno the Eleatic, who treated of natural philosophy in the same manner as Parmenides, but had likewise perfected himself in an

* Music is in Greek the literary, as opposed to Gymnastic, the bodily training; meaning all that has to do with the Muses, and including general reading and writing, and the elements of science.

art of his own for refuting and silencing opponents in argument by making them contradict themselves, as Timon of Phlius describes it,—

*The two-edged tongue of mighty Zeno, who,
Say what one would, could argue it untrue.*

But he that saw most of Pericles, and furnished him most especially with a weight and grandeur of sense, superior to all arts of popularity, and in general gave him his elevation and sublimity of purpose and of character, was Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ; whom the men of those times called by the name of Mind or Intelligence*, whether in admiration of the great and extraordinary gift he displayed for the science of nature, or because that he was the first of the philosophers who did not refer the first ordering of the world to fortune or chance, nor yet to necessity or compulsion, but to a pure, unadulterated intelligence, which, in all other existing mixed and compound things, acts as a principle of discrimination and of combination of like with like.

For this man Pericles entertained an extraordinary 5 esteem and admiration, and filling himself with this lofty, and, as they call it, up-in-the-air sort of thought, derived hence not merely, as was natural, elevation of purpose and dignity of language, far removed from the base and dishonest buffooneries of mob-eloquence, but besides this a composure of countenance, and a serenity and quietness in his postures and movements†, which no

* *Nous* in Greek.

† The orators in the next generation gesticulated and threw their arms about, and walked up and down the speaker's stand. Pericles kept rigidly to the old custom: that the speaker should not so much as move his right hand out of the folds of his dress.

occurrence whilst he was speaking could disturb; a sustained and even tone of voice; and various other advantages of a similar kind, which produced the greatest effect on his hearers. Once, while being reviled and ill-spoken of all day long in his own hearing by some vile and abandoned fellow in the open city-place, where he was engaged in the despatch of some urgent affair, he continued his business in perfect silence, and in the evening returned home composedly, the man still dogging him at the heels, and assailing him all the way with abuse and foul language; and stepping into his house, it being by this time dark, he ordered one of his servants to take a light and to go along with the man and see him home. Ion, it is true, the dramatic poet, says that Pericles's manner in company was somewhat pretentious and pompous; and that into his high bearing there entered a good deal of slightingness and scorn of others; he reserves his commendations for Cimon's ease and pliancy and natural grace in society. Upon Ion, however, who must needs make virtue, like a show of tragedies, include some comic scenes*, we shall not altogether rely. Zeno used to bid those who called Pericles's gravity the affectation of an impostor *to go and affect the like themselves*; inasmuch as this mere counterfeiting might in time insensibly instil into them a real love and knowledge of these noble qualities.

Plutarch's words allude to this, which he mentions more distinctly elsewhere.

* Three tragedies represented in succession were followed by a burlesque, the so-called *satyric* drama, which has no connexion; it must be remembered, with the moral satire of the Romans, but takes its name from the grotesque satyr of the Greek woods.

Nor were these the only advantages which Pericles derived from Anaxagoras's acquaintance ; he seems also to have become, by his instructions, superior to that superstition, with which an ignorant wonder at appearances, for example, in the heavens, possesses the minds of people unacquainted with their causes, ready to believe anything to be supernatural, and excitable through an inexperience which the knowledge of natural causes removes, replacing wild and timid superstition by the good hope and assurance of an intelligent piety. There is a story, that once Pericles had brought to him, from a country farm of his, a ram's head with one horn, and that Lampon, the diviner, upon observing how the horn had grown strong and solid out of the middle of the forehead, gave it as his judgment, that, there being at that time two potent interests in the city, the one of Thucydides and the other of Pericles, the government would come about to that one of them in whose ground this token had shown itself. But that Anaxagoras, cleaving the skull in sunder, showed the standers-by that the brain had not filled up its natural place, but being oblong, like an egg, had collected from all parts of the vessel which contained it, in a point to that place from whence the root of the horn took its rise. And that, for that time, Anaxagoras was much admired for his explanation by those that were present ; and Lampon no less a little while after, when Thucydides was overpowered, and the whole affairs of the state and government came into the hands of Pericles. And yet, I think, it is no absurdity to say that they were both in the right, both natural philosopher and diviner, one justly detecting the cause of this

event, by which it was produced, the other the end for which it was designed. For it was the business of the one to find out and say what it was made of, and in what way it had thus grown; and of the other to foretell for what purpose it was so made, and what it was intended to foreshow. Those who say that to find out the cause of a prodigy is to destroy its supposed signification as such, do not observe that with divine prodigies they also do away with signs and signals of human art and concert, as for instance clashing of quoits, firebeacons, and shadows on sun-dials, every one of which things has its cause, and by that cause and contrivance is a sign of something else. But these are subjects, perhaps, that would better befit another place.

- 7 Pericles, yet in his youth, stood in considerable apprehension of the people, as he was thought in face and figure to be very like the tyrant Pisistratus, and those of great age remarked upon the sweetness of his voice, and his volubility and rapidity in speaking, and were struck with amazement at the resemblance. Reflecting, too, that he had wealth, and high birth, and friends of great influence, he was fearful lest all this might bring him to be banished as a dangerous person; and for this reason meddled not at all with state affairs, but in military service showed himself brave and intrepid. But when Aristides was now dead, and Themistocles driven out, and Cimon was for the most part kept abroad by the expeditions he made in parts out of Greece, Pericles now advanced and took his side, not with the rich and few, but with the many and poor, contrary to his natural bent, which was far from democratical; but, most

Ostracism of Themistocles, B.C. 472.
Death of Aristides, B.C. 468.

likely, fearing he might fall under suspicion of aiming at arbitrary power, and seeing Cimon on the side of the aristocracy and much beloved by the better and more distinguished people, he joined the party of the people, with a view at once both to secure himself, and procure means against Cimon. He immediately entered also on quite a new course of life and management of his time. He was never seen in any street but that which led to the market-place and the council-hall, and he avoided invitations of friends to supper, and all friendly visiting and intercourse whatever; in all the time he had to do with the public, which was not a little, he was never known to have gone to any of his friends to a supper, except that once when his cousin Eurypolemus married, he remained present till the ceremony of the drink-offering*, and then immediately rose from the table and went his way. For these friendly meetings are very quick to defeat any assumed superiority, and with intimate familiarity an exterior of gravity is hard to maintain: although real excellence is most fully recognised when most openly looked into; in really good men, nothing which meets the eyes of external observers so truly deserves their admiration, as their daily common life does that of their nearer friends. Pericles, however, to avoid, also, any feeling of commonness, or any satiety on the part of the people, presented himself at intervals only, not speaking to every business, nor at all times coming into the assembly, but, reserving himself, as Critolaus says, *like the Salaminian*

* The *spondai*, or libations, which like the modern grace, concluded the meal, and were followed by the dessert.

*galley**, for great occasions, while matters of lesser importance were despatched by friends or other speakers under his direction. And of this number we are told Ephialtes made one, who destroyed the power of the council of Areopagus, giving the people, according to Plato's expression, so copious and *so strong a draught of liberty*, that, growing wild and unruly, like an unmanageable horse, it, as the comic poets say,—

— got beyond all keeping in,
Biting at Eubœa, and among the islands leaping in.

- 8 The style of speaking most consonant to his form of life and the dignity of his views he found, so to say, in the tones of that instrument with which Anaxagoras had furnished him; of his teaching he continually availed himself, and deepened the colours of rhetoric with the dye of natural science. For having, *in addition to his great natural genius, attained by the study of nature*, to use the words of the divine Plato, *this height of intelligence, and this universal consummating power*, and drawing hence whatever might be of advantage to him in the art of speaking, he attained an eminence far above all others. Upon which account they say he had his nickname given him; though some are of opinion he was named the Olympian from the public buildings with which he adorned the city; and others again, from his great power in public affairs, whether of war or peace. Nor is it unlikely that the confluence of many

* The Salaminia and the Paralus were the two sacred state-galleys of Athens, used only on special missions. See above in the life of Themistocles, p. 13.

attributes may have conferred it on him. However, the comedies represented at the time, which, both in good earnest and in merriment, let fly many hard words at him, plainly show that he got the name especially from his speaking; they talk of his *thundering and lightening*, when he harangued the people, and of his wielding *a dreadful thunderbolt in his tongue*. A saying, also, of Thucydides the son of Melesias stands on record, spoken by him by way of pleasantry upon Pericles's dexterity. Thucydides was one of the noble and distinguished citizens, and for a long time had been his chief opponent; and, when Archidamus, the king of the Lacedæmonians, asked him *whether he or Pericles were the better wrestler*, he made this answer: "When I," said he, "have thrown him and given him a fair fall, by persisting that he had no fall, he gets the better of me, and makes the bystanders, in spite of their own eyes, believe him." The truth, however, is, that Pericles himself was very careful what and how he was to speak; so much so, that, whenever he went to the stand, he prayed the gods that no one word might unawares slip from him unsuitable to the matter and the occasion.* He has left nothing in writing behind him, except some decrees; and there are but very few of his sayings recorded; one, for example, is, that he said *Ægina must, like a gathering in a man's eye, be removed from Piræus*; and another, that he said *he saw already war moving on its way towards them out of Peloponnesus*. Again, when on a time, Sophocles, who was his fellow-

* "Think well, Pericles: the people you govern are freemen, are Greeks, are Athenian citizens." So Plutarch says elsewhere he used to say to himself.

commissioner in the generalship, was going on board with him, and praised the beauty of a youth they met, "Sophocles," said he, "a general ought not only to have clean hands, but also clean eyes." And Ste-simbrotus tells us that, in his encomium on those who fell in battle at Samos, he said *they were become immortal, as the gods were*. "For," said he, "we do not see the gods themselves, but only by the honours we pay them, and by the benefits they do us, attribute to them immortality; and the like attributes belong also to those that die in the service of their country."

- 9 Since Thucydides describes the rule of Pericles as an aristocratical government, that *went by the name of a democracy, but was, indeed, the supremacy of a single great man*; while many others say, on the contrary, that by him the common people was first encouraged and led on to such evils as appropriations of subject territory; allowances for attending theatres; payments for performing public duties; and by these bad habits was under the influence of his public measures changed from a sober, thrifty people, that maintained themselves by their own labour, to lovers of expense, intemperance, and licence; let us examine the ground of this charge by the actual matters of fact. At the first, as has been said, when he set himself against Cimon's great authority, he did caress the people. Finding himself come short of his competitor in wealth and money, by which advantages the other was enabled to do good to the poor, inviting every day some one or other of the citizens that was in want to supper, and bestowing clothes on the aged people, and breaking down the hedges and enclosures of his grounds, that all that would might

freely gather what fruit they pleased,—Pericles, thus outdone in popular arts, by the advice of one Demonides of Cea, as Aristotle states, turned to the distribution of the public moneys; and in a short time having bought the people over, what with moneys allowed for shows and for service on juries, and what with other forms of pay and largess, he made use of them against the council of Areopagus, of which he himself was no member, as having never been appointed by lot either chief archon, or lawgiver, or king, or captain.* For from of old these offices were conferred on persons by lot, and they who had acquitted themselves duly in the discharge of them, became members of the court of Areopagus. And so Pericles, having obtained greater power and interest with the people, turned the efforts of his party against this council, with such success, that most of those causes and matters which had been used to be tried there, were, by the motion of Ephialtes, removed from its cognizance; Cimon, also, was banished by ostracism as a favourer of the Lacedæmonians and a hater of the people, though in wealth and noble birth he was among the

Ostracism of Cimon, B.C. 461.

* *Epónymus*, *Thesmóthetes*, *Básileus*, *Polemarchus*; titles of the different archons, the chief civic dignitaries, who, after the period of the Persian wars were appointed, not by election, but simply by lot, from the whole body of citizens. The actual ministers of the state, abroad as well as at home, were the ten *stratēgi*, the generals or commanders (commanding by sea oftener than by land); these were elected and were men of eminence; Pericles himself (see below p. 79), Cimon, Nicias, Alcibiades. The Athenian years counted by the senior, the *eponymous*, or naming archon; but a list of the yearly generals, as of the consuls at Rome, would tell us much more of the real history of the time.

first, and had won several most glorious victories over the barbarians, and had filled the city with money and spoils of war ; as is recorded in the history of his life. So vast an authority had Pericles obtained with the people.

- 10 The ostracism was limited by law to ten years. But the Lacedæmonians, during its course, entering with a great army into the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians going out against them, Cimon coming from his banishment before his time was out, put himself in arms and array with those of his fellow-citizens that were of his own tribe, and desired by his deeds to wipe off the suspicion of his favouring the Lacedæmonians, by venturing his own person along with his countrymen. But Pericles's friends, gathering in a body, forced him to retire as a banished man. For which cause also Pericles seems to have exerted himself more in that than in any battle, and to have been conspicuous above all for his exposure of himself to danger. All Cimon's friends also, to a man, fell together side by side, whom Pericles had accused with him of taking part with the Lacedæmonians. Defeated in this battle on their own frontiers, and expecting a new and perilous attack with return of spring, the Athenians now were full of regret and sorrow for the loss of Cimon, and repentance for their expulsion of him. Pericles, being sensible of this feeling, did not hesitate or delay to gratify it, and himself made the motion for recalling him home. He, upon his return, made a peace between the two cities ; for the Lacedæmonians entertained as kindly a feeling towards him as they did the reverse towards Pericles and the other popular leaders. Yet some there are who say that Pericles did not propose the

Battle
of Tan-
agra, B.C.
457, in
the win-
ter.

Recall of
Cimon.

order for Cimon's return till private articles of agreement had been made between them by means of Elpinice, Cimon's sister; that Cimon, namely, should go out to sea with a fleet of two hundred ships, and be commander-in-chief abroad, and make conquests in the king of Persia's territories, and that Pericles should have the power at home. Elpinice, it was thought, had before this time procured some favour for her brother at Pericles's hands, and induced him to be more remiss and gentle in urging the charge when Cimon was tried for his life; for Pericles was one of the committee appointed by the people to plead against him. And when Elpinice came and besought him in her brother's behalf, he answered, with a smile, "O, Elpinice, you are too old, too old a woman to meddle in such a business as this." But when the impeachment was made, he stood up but once to speak, merely to acquit himself of his commission, and withdrew, having done Cimon the least prejudice of any of his accusers. How then can one believe Idomeneus, who charges Pericles as if he had by treachery procured the murder of Ephialtes the popular statesman, one who was his friend, and of his own party in all his political course, out of jealousy, forsooth, and envy of his great reputation? This historian, having raked up, it seems, I know not whence, these stories, has befouled with them a man who, perchance, was not altogether free from fault or blame, but yet had a noble spirit, and a soul that was bent on honour; and where such qualities are, there can no such cruel and brutal passion find harbour or gain admittance. As to Ephialtes, the truth of the story, as Aristotle has told it, is this: that having made

himself formidable to the oligarchical party, by being an uncompromising asserter of the people's rights in calling to account and prosecuting those who any way wronged them, his enemies lying in wait for him, by the hand of Aristodicus the Tanagræan, privately dispatched him.

11 Cimon, while he was admiral, died in the isle of
Death of Cimon,
B.C. 449. Cyprus. And the aristocratical party feeling that Pericles was already before this grown to be the greatest and foremost man of all the city, yet wishing there should be somebody in opposition against him, to blunt and turn the edge of his power, that it might not altogether be a monarchy, put forward Thucydides of Alopece, a discreet person, and a connection of Cimon's by marriage*, to conduct the opposition against him; who, indeed, though less a soldier than Cimon was, yet was better versed in speaking and political business, and keeping close guard in the city, and engaging with Pericles on the hustings, in a short time brought the government to an equality of parties. For he would not suffer those who were called the *honest and good*† to be scattered up and down and mix themselves, and be lost among the populace as formerly, diminishing and obscuring their superiority amongst the masses; but taking them apart by themselves and uniting them in one body, by their combined weight he was able, as it were, upon the balance, to make a counterpoise to the other party. For indeed there was from the beginning a sort of concealed split, or seam, as it might be in

* The same who has already been mentioned, the son of Melesias.

† People of birth and education, the upper, or better, classes.

a piece of iron, marking the different popular and aristocratical tendencies; but the open rivalry and contention of these two opponents made the cut deep, and severed the city into the two parties called *the people* and *the few*. And so Pericles, at that time more than at any other, let loose the reins to the people, and made his policy subservient to their pleasure, contriving continually to have some great public show or solemnity, some banquet, or some procession or other in the town to please them, coaxing his countrymen like children, with such delights and pleasures as were not unedifying either. Besides that every year he sent out threescore galleys, on board of which there went numbers of the citizens, who were in pay eight months, learning at the same time and practising the art of seamanship. He sent, moreover, a thousand of them into the Chersonese as planters, to share the land among them by lot, and five hundred more into the isle of Naxos, and half that number to Andros; a thousand into Thrace to dwell among the Bisaltæ; and others into Italy, when the city Sybaris, which now was called Thurii, was to be repopled. And this he did to ease and discharge the city of an idle, and, by reason of their idleness, a busy, meddling crowd of people; and at the same time to meet the necessities and restore the fortunes of the poor townsmen, and to intimidate also and check their allies from attempting any change, by posting such garrisons, as it were, in the midst of them.

That, however, which gave most pleasure and ornament to the city of Athens, and caused the greatest admiration and even astonishment to all strangers, and at this day is Greece's only evidence that the

power she boasts of and her ancient wealth is no romance or idle story, was his construction of the public and sacred buildings. Yet this was that of all his actions in the government which his enemies most looked askance upon and cavilled at in the popular assemblies, crying out how that the commonwealth of Athens had lost its reputation and was ill-spoken of abroad, for re-



View of the Athenian Acropolis. (In the age of Pericles: according to the restoration of F. C. Penrose, Esq.)

moving the common treasure of the Greeks* from the isle of Delos into their own custody; and how that their fairest excuse for so doing, namely, that they took it away for fear the barbarians should seize it, and on purpose to secure it in a safe place, this Pericles had made unavailable, and how that "Greece cannot but resent it as a gross affront, and a piece of open tyranny, when she

* Those, namely, who were confederates of Athens: whose contributions for the common defence had at first been lodged at Delos.

sees the treasure which was contributed by her simply for the needs of the war wantonly lavished out by us upon our city, to gild her all over, and to adorn and set her forth, as it were some vain woman, hung round with precious stones and figures and temples, which cost a world of money." Pericles on the other hand informed the people, that they were under no obligation to give account of those moneys to their allies, so long as they maintained their defence, and kept off the barbarians from attacking them; while the allies, in the meantime, did not supply one horse or man or ship, but only found money for the service; "which money," said he, "is not theirs that give it, but theirs that receive it, if so be they perform the conditions upon which they receive it." And that it was good reason, that now the city was sufficiently provided and stored with all things necessary for the war, they should convert the overplus of its wealth to such undertakings, as would hereafter, when completed, give them eternal honour, and for the present, while in process, freely supply all the inhabitants with plenty. With their variety of workmanship and of occasions for service, which summon all arts and trades and require all hands to be employed about them, they do actually put the whole city in a manner into state-pay; while at the same time she is both beautified and maintained by herself. For as those who are of age and strength for war are provided for and maintained in the armaments abroad, by their pay out of the public stock; so it being his desire and design that the undisciplined mechanic multitude that stayed at home should not go without their share of public salaries, and yet should not have them given them for sitting still and doing nothing, to that end he thought fit to bring in speedily these vast

projects of buildings and designs of works, that would be of some continuance before they were finished, and would give employment to numerous arts, so that the part of the people that stayed at home might, no less than those that were at sea or in garrisons, or on expeditions, have a fair and just occasion of receiving the benefit and having their share of the public moneys. The materials were stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress-wood; and the arts or



West Front of the Parthenon.

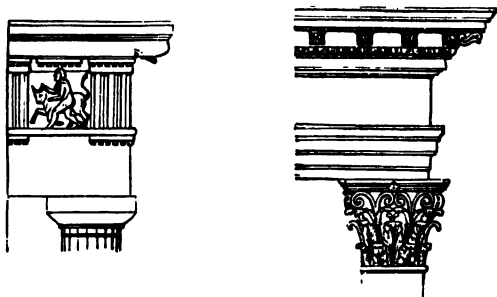
trades that wrought and fashioned them were smiths and carpenters, moulders, founders and braziers, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory-workers, painters, embroiderers, turners; those again that conveyed them to the town for use, merchants and mariners, and ship-masters by sea; and by land, cartwrights, cattle-breeders, wagoners, rope-makers, flax-workers, shoe-makers and leather-dressers, road-makers, miners. And every trade, in the same way as a captain in an army has his particular company of soldiers under him, had its own hired

company of journeymen and labourers belonging to it banded together as in array, to be as it were the instrument and body for the performance of the service. So that, to say all in a word, the occasions and services of these public works distributed plenty through every age and condition.

As then grew the works up, no less stately in size 13 than exquisite in form, the workmen striving to outvie the material and the design with the beauty of their workmanship, yet the most wonderful thing of all was the rapidity of their execution. Undertakings, any one of which singly might have required, they thought, for their completion, several successions and ages of men, were every one of them accomplished in the height and prime of one man's political service. Although they say, too, that Zeuxis once having heard Agatharchus the painter boast of dispatching his work with speed and ease, replied, "I take a long time." For ease and speed in doing a thing do not give the work lasting solidity or exactness of beauty; the expenditure of time allowed to a man's pains beforehand for the production of a thing is repaid by way of interest with a vital force for its preservation when once produced. For which reason Pericles's works are especially admired, as having been made quickly to last long. For every particular piece of his work was immediately even at that time, for its beauty and elegance, antique; and yet in its vigour and freshness looks to this day as if it were just executed. There is a sort of bloom of newness upon those works of his, preserving them from the touch of time, as if they had some perennial spirit and undecaying vitality mingled in the composition of them. Phidias had the oversight of all the works and was surveyor-general,

though upon the various portions other great masters and workmen were employed. For Callicrates and Ictinus built the Parthenon; the chapel at Eleusis, for the celebration of the mysteries, was begun by Corœbus, who erected the pillars that stand upon the floor, and joined them to the architraves; and after his death Metagenes of Xypete, added the frieze and the upper line of columns; Xenocles of Cholargus formed the lantern on the top of the temple of Castor and Pollux; and the Long Wall, which Socrates says he himself heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. This work Cratinus ridicules as long in finishing, —

*'Tis long, since Pericles, if words would do it,
Talk'd up the wall; yet adds not one stone to it.*



Doric and Corinthian Capitals.*

The Odeum or music-room, which in its interior was full of seats and ranges of pillars, and outside had its roof made to slope and descend from one single point at

* The architrave (*epistylum*, literally, *on-column*, in Greek) is the masonry immediately on the capitals; the frieze stands on the architrave; and the cornice on the frieze; cornice, frieze, and architrave together making the entablature.

the top, was constructed, we are told, in imitation of the king of Persia's pavilion, this likewise by Pericles's order; which Cratinus again in his comedy called *The Thracian Women*, made an occasion of raillery, —

— *Whom see we here*

But the great squill-head Jupiter appear?

Ostracism past, he's laid aside his head,*

And wears the new Odeum in its stead.

Pericles also, eager to do honour to his building, then first obtained the decree for a contest in musical skill to be held yearly at the Panathenæa, and he himself being chosen judge, arranged the order and method in which the competitors should sing and play on the flute and on the harp. And both at that time, and at other times also, they sat in this music-room to see and hear all such trials of skill. The Propylæa, or entrances to the Acropolis, were finished in five years' time, Mnesicles being the principal architect. A strange accident happened in the course of building, which showed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but was aiding and co-operating to bring it to perfection. One of the artificers, the quickest and the handiest workman among them all, with a slip of his foot fell down from a great height and lay in a miserable condition, given up by the physicians. When Pericles was in distress about this, Minerva appeared to him at night in a dream, and ordered a course of treatment, which he applied, and in a short time, without difficulty the man got well. Upon this occasion he set up the brass statue of Minerva surnamed *Health* in the citadel, near the altar, which they

* Since his danger of being ostracised has passed over—the exile appointed for one or the other having fallen to his opponent, Thucydides.

say was there before. But Phidias made the golden standing figure, and he has his name inscribed on the pedestal as the workman of it; though indeed the whole work in a manner was under his charge, and he had, as we have said already, the oversight over all the artists and workmen, through Pericles's friendship for him; and this indeed made him much envied, and his patron shamefully slandered with stories. The comic writers of the town bespattered him with all the ribaldry they could invent, attacking him about the wife of Menippus, one who was his friend and served as lieutenant under him in the wars; and with the birds kept by Pyrilampe, an acquaintance of Pericles, who, they pretended, used to give presents of peacocks to Pericles's female friends. And how can one wonder at this in men whose lives were devoted to mockery, and whose trade it was to make these offerings of the slander of great men to the evil genius of vulgar envy, when even Stesimbrotus the Thasian has dared to lay to the charge of Pericles a monstrous and fabulous piece of criminality? So very difficult a matter is it to trace and find out the truth of anything by history, when on the one hand those who afterwards write it, find long periods of time intercepting their view; and on the other hand, the cotemporary records of any actions and lives, partly through envy and ill-will, partly through favour and flattery, pervert and distort truth.

- 14 When the orators, who sided with Thucydides and his party, were at one time crying out, as their custom was, against Pericles, as one who squandered away the public money, and made havoc of the state revenues, he rose in the assembly and put the question to the peo-

ple, *whether they thought that he had laid out much; and they saying, too much, a great deal, "Then,"* said he, "since it is so, let the cost not be yours, but mine; and the inscription upon the buildings shall stand in my name." When they heard him say thus, whether it were out of a surprise at the greatness of his spirit, or out of desire to retain the glory of the works, they cried aloud, bidding him *spend on and lay out from the public purse, and spare no cost, till all were finished.* At length coming to a final contest with Thucydides, which of the two should ostracise the other out of the country, and having gone through this peril, he threw his antagonist out, and broke up the confederacy that had been organised against him.

Ostracism of Thucydides son of Melesias, B.C. 444.

So now all schism and division being at an end, and the 15 city brought to evenness and unity, he got all Athens and all affairs that depended upon Athens, into his own hands, their tributes, their armies, and their galleys; the islands, the sea, and their wide-extended power, partly over other Greeks, and partly over barbarians; and all that empire, which they possessed, founded and fortified upon subject nations, and royal friendships, and alliances.* After this he was no longer the same man he had been before, nor as tame and gentle and familiar as formerly with the populace, to yield to the pleasures and to comply with the desires of the multitude as a steersman shifts with the wind. Quitting that loose,

* Thus far from chapter 9 he has been illustrating the way in which Pericles may be not untruly said to have courted the people. Here he shows him in his other character. To carry out this comparison, he neglects the order of time, which he resumes at its close, in chapter 21.

remiss, and, in some cases, licentious court of the popular will, he turned those soft and flowery modulations to the austerity of aristocratical and regal rule; and employing this uprightly and undeviatingly for the country's best interests, he was able generally to lead the people along with their own wills and consents, by persuading and showing them what was to be done; and sometimes, too, urging and pressing them forward extremely against their will, he made them, whether they would or no, yield submission to what was for their advantage; exactly like a skilful physician, who, in a complicated and lingering disease, as he sees occasion, at one while allows his patient some innocent indulgences, and at another gives him keen pains and drugs to work the cure. For there arising and growing up, as was natural, all manner of impressions and feelings in a multitude thus exercising dominion, he alone, as a great master, knowing how to handle and deal fitly with each one of them, and making use of hopes and fears, as his two chief rudders, with the one to check their over confidence at any time, with the other to raise them up and cheer them, when under any discouragement, plainly showed how truly rhetoric is, as Plato calls it, *a magic power upon the souls of men*, and that its chief business is to address the affections and passions, which are as it were the strings and keys to the soul, and require a skilled and careful touch. The source of this was not simply his language, but, as Thucydides assures us, the reputation of his life, and the confidence felt in his character; his *conspicuous freedom from every kind of corruption*, and superiority to all considerations of money. Notwithstanding he

had made the city Athens, which was great indeed before, as great and as rich as can be imagined, and though he were himself in power and interest more than equal to many kings and absolute rulers, who some of them also bequeathed by will their power to their children, he, for his part, did not make the patrimony his father left him greater than it was by one drachma.

Thucydides indeed makes a plain statement of the 16 greatness of his power; and the comic poets, in their spiteful manner, help us to see it, styling his companions and friends *the new Pisistratidæ*, and calling on him *to take an oath abjuring the intention of usurpation*, as one whose eminence was too great to be any longer proportionable to and compatible with a popular government. Teleclides says the Athenians had surrendered up to him—

*The tribute of the cities, and themselves the cities too, at his
pleasure both to do and to undo;
To build up, if he likes, stone walls around a town; and again,
if so he likes, to pull them down;
Their treaties and alliances, power, empire, peace, and war, their
wealth and their success for evermore.*

Nor was all this the luck of some happy occasion; nor was it the mere bloom and grace of a policy that flourished for a season; but holding, for forty years together, the first place among statesmen such as ^{B.C.} 468-429. Ephialtes and Leocrates and Myronides and Cimon and Tolmides and Thucydides were, for no less than fifteen years together after the defeat and banishment ^{B.C.} 444-429. of Thucydides in the exercise of one continuous unintermitted command in the office, to which he was

annually re-elected, of general, he preserved his integrity unspotted. Though otherwise he was not particularly careless in looking after his pecuniary advantage; his paternal estate, which of right belonged to him, he so ordered, that it might neither through negligence be wasted or lessened, nor yet, being so full of business as he was, cost him any great trouble or time with taking care of it; and put it into such a way of management as he thought to be the most easy for himself, and the most exact. All his yearly products and profits he sold together in a lump, and supplied his household needs afterwards by buying everything that he or his family wanted out of the market. Upon which account his children, when they grew to age, were not well pleased with his management, and the women that lived with him were treated with little cost, and complained of this day-by-day and exactly reckoned-for housekeeping, without anything, as is usual in a great family and a plentiful estate, to overflow and abound; all that went out or came in, every disbursement and every receipt proceeding, as it were, by number and measure. His manager in everything was a single servant, Evangelus by name; a man either naturally gifted, or instructed by Pericles, so as to excel every one in this art of domestic economy. All this, in truth, was very little in harmony with Anaxagoras's wisdom; if, indeed, it be true that he, by a kind of divine impulse and greatness of spirit, voluntarily quitted his house, and left his land to lie unsown, and be grazed by sheep like a common. But the life of a contemplative philosopher and that of an active statesman is, I presume, not the

same thing. For the one merely employs upon great and good objects of thought an intelligence that requires no aid of instruments nor supply of external materials; whereas the other, who tempers and applies his virtue to human uses, may have occasion for affluence, not as a matter of mere necessity, but as a noble thing; which was Pericles's case, who relieved numerous poor citizens. Though indeed, there is a story, that Anaxagoras also, while Pericles was taken up with public affairs, being neglected, and now grown old, wrapped himself up with the resolution to die by going without food; and Pericles, coming to hear of it, was horror-struck, and instantly ran thither, and used every possible argument and entreaty, lamenting not so much Anaxagoras's condition as his own, should he lose the benefit of his counsels for the state; and that upon this, Anaxagoras unmuffled himself: "Pericles," said he, "even those who need a lamp supply it with oil."

The Lacedæmonians beginning to show jealousy at 17 the growth of the Athenian power, Pericles, on the other hand, to raise the people's spirit yet more, and to make them feel themselves equal to great actions, passed a decree to invite all the Greeks in what part soever, whether of Europe or Asia, every city, little as well as great, to send deputies to Athens to a general convention, there to advise about the Greek temples which the barbarians had burnt down, and the sacrifices which were due upon vows they had made to the gods for the safety of Greece, when they fought against the barbarians; and also concerning the navigation of the sea, that they might henceforward all of them pass to and fro securely, and be at peace among

themselves. Upon this mission there were twenty men, of such as were above fifty years of age, sent by commission; five to summon the Ionians and Dorians in Asia and in the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the places in the Hellespont and Thrace, up to Byzantium; other five again to visit Bœotia and Phocis and Peloponnesus, and from hence to go through the Locrians over the neighbouring continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia; and the rest to pass through Eubœa to the Cœtæans and the Malian Gulf, and to the Achæans of Phthiotis and the Thessalians; all of them to treat with the people, and to persuade them to come and take part in the consultation, for establishing peace and jointly regulating the affairs of Greece. Nothing was effected, nor did the cities meet by their deputies, as was desired; the Lacedæmonians, as it is said, crossing the design underhand, and the attempt being disappointed and baffled first in Peloponnesus. I introduce it however to show the spirit of Pericles and the greatness of his thoughts.

- 18 In his military conduct, his chief reputation was for safe-dealing; he would not by his good will engage in any fight which had much uncertainty or hazard; he did not envy the glory of generals whose rash adventures fortune favoured with brilliant success, however they were admired by others, nor thought them worthy his imitation, but always used to say to his citizens that, *so far as it depended on him, they should be immortal and live for ever*. When he saw Tolmides the son of Tolmæus, flushed with his former successes and with the honour his military actions had procured him, making preparation to enter Bœotia at an unfavourable

time, and found that he had prevailed with the bravest and most enterprising of the youth to join as volunteers in the service, who besides his other force made up a thousand, he endeavoured to withhold and dissuade him in the public assembly, uttering the words that have often been repeated, that *if he would not take Pericles's advice, yet he would do well to wait and be ruled by time, the wisest counsellor of all.* This saying, at that time, was but slightly commended; but within a few days after, when news was brought that Tolmides had been defeated and slain in battle near Coronea, and that many brave citizens had fallen with him, it gained him great repute, as well as good will, among the people, for wisdom and for love of his countrymen.

Battle
of Co-
ronea,
B.C. 447.

Of his expeditions, that to the Chersonese gave most 19 satisfaction and pleasure, having proved the safety of the Greeks who inhabited there. For not only by carrying along with him a thousand fresh citizens of Athens he gave new strength and vigor to the cities, but also by belting the neck of land, which joins the peninsula to the continent, with bulwarks and forts from sea to sea, he put a stop to the inroads of the Thracians, who lay all about the Chersonese, and closed the door against the continual and grievous war, with which the country had this long time been harassed by barbarous neighbours pressing closely upon it, and a predatory population teeming both upon and within its borders. He was also admired, and gained renown in distant countries, for sailing round the Peloponnesus, having set out from Pegæ, the port of Megara, with a hundred galleys. For he not only laid waste the sea coast, as Tolmides had done before, but also ad-

vancing far up into main land with the soldiers he had on board, by the terror of his appearance drove many within their walls; and at Nemea entirely routed and raised a trophy over the Sicyonians, who stood their ground and joined battle with him. And having taken on board a supply of soldiers into the galleys, out of Achaia, then in league with Athens, he crossed with the fleet to the opposite continent, and sailing along by the mouth of the river Achelous, overran Acarnania, and shut up the CEniadæ within their city walls, and having ravaged and wasted their country, thence returned home, with the double advantage of having shown himself formidable to his enemies, and to his fellow-citizens at the same time safe and energetic; for there was not so much as any chance-miscarriage that happened, the whole voyage through, to those who were under his charge.

- 20 Entering also the Euxine Sea with a large and finely equipped fleet, he obtained for the Greek cities any new arrangements they wanted, and entered into friendly relations with them; and to the barbarous nations, and kings and chiefs round about them, displayed the greatness of the power of the Athenians and their perfect ability and confidence to sail wherever they liked, and to keep the whole sea under their control. He left the Sinopians thirteen ships of war, with soldiers, under the command of Lamachus, to assist them against Timesileos the tyrant: and when he and his partisans had been thrown out, obtained a decree that six hundred of the Athenians that were willing should sail to Sinope and plant themselves there with the Sinopians, sharing among them the houses and land which the tyrant and

his party had previously held. But in other things he did not comply with the impulses of the citizens, nor quit his own resolutions to follow their fancies, when, carried away with the thought of their strength and success, they were eager to interfere again in Egypt, and to disturb the king of Persia's maritime dominions. Indeed, there were a good many who were, even then, possessed with that unblest and inauspicious passion for Sicily, which afterward the orators of Alcibiades's party blew into a flame. There were some also who dreamt of Tuscany and of Carthage; and not without plausible reason; in their present large dominion and the prosperous course of their affairs.

This, their passion for distant adventure, Pericles 21 curbed, and unsparingly cut down their desires for a multitude of undertakings; and directed their power mainly to securing and consolidating what they had got, judging it quite enough for them to do to keep the Lacedæmonians in check; to whom he maintained all along a certain opposition; as was seen upon many occasions, and particularly by the course he took in the time of the holy war. The Lacedæmonians having gone with an army to Delphi, restored Apollo's temple, which the Phocians had got into their possession, to the Delphians: immediately after their departure, Pericles, with another army, came and restored the Phocians. And the Lacedæmonians having engraven the record of their privilege of consulting the oracle before others, which the Delphians gave them, upon the forehead of the brazen wolf which stands there, he also, having received the like privilege for the

Athenians, had it cut upon the same wolf of brass on his right side.*

- 22 That he did wisely in thus restraining the exertions of the Athenians within the compass of Greece, the events themselves bore witness. For, in the first place, the Eubœans revolted, against whom he passed over with forces; and then, immediately, news came that the Megarians were turned their enemies, and that a hostile army was on the borders of Attica, under Plistoanax king of the Lacedæmonians. So Pericles came with his forces back again in haste out of Eubœa, to meet the war which threatened at home; and did not venture to engage a numerous and brave army eager for battle; but perceiving that Plistoanax was a very young man, and among his counsellors followed mostly the advice of Cleandridas, whom the ephors had sent with him, on account of his youth, to be a kind of guardian and assistant to him, he privately made trial of this man's integrity, and in a short time, having corrupted him with money, prevailed with him to withdraw the Peloponnesians out of Attica. When the forces had retired and dispersed into their several states, the Lacedæmonians in anger fined their king in so large a sum of money, that, unable to pay it, he quitted Lacedæmon; while Cleandridas fled and had sentence of death passed upon him in his absence. This was the

Revolt
of Eu-
bœa and
Megara,
and in-
vasion
of Attica
by the
Lace-
dæmo-
nians,
B.C. 445.

* The brazen wolf at Delphi was famous. A man who carried off some treasure from the temple, went to hide it in the thick woods of Parnassus. A wolf fell upon him and killed him, and for many days after came daily into the city and howled. At last the people followed him, discovered the gold, and set up this image of the wolf. (Pausanias, x. 14.)

father of Gylippus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily. And it seems that this covetousness was an hereditary disease, transmitted naturally from father to son; for Gylippus also was caught in foul practices and expelled from Sparta for it; as is related in the life of Lysander.

When Pericles, in giving up his accounts of his office 23 of general, stated a disbursement of ten talents, as *laid out upon fit occasion*, the people, without any question, nor troubling themselves to learn the facts, allowed it. And some historians, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have given it as a truth that Pericles every year sent a sum of ten talents to Sparta, with which he made presents to those in office, to keep off the war; not to purchase peace either, but time, that he might prepare at leisure, and be the better able to carry on the war hereafter. However, immediately after this, turning his forces against the revolters, and passing over to Eubœa with fifty ships and five thousand men in arms, he reduced their cities, and drove out the citizens of the Chalcidians, the *horse-feeders*, as they called them*, the chief persons for wealth and reputation among them; and removing all the Histiaians out of the country, brought in a plantation of Athenians in their room; making them his one example of severity, because they had captured an Attic ship and killed all on board.

After this, having made a truce between the Athenians 24 and Lacedæmonians for thirty years, he had a decree ^{The} Thirty.

* *Hippobotæ*, much like the *Hippeis*, the horsemen or knights, at Athens, and the *Equites* at Rome, wealthier citizens who maintained horses for war, and served in the cavalry.

Years' passed for the expedition against Samos, on the
 Peace, ground, that when they were bid to leave off their
 B.C. 445. war with the Milesians, they had not complied. And
 as these measures against the Samians are thought to
 The Samian War, have been taken to please Aspasia, this may be a fit
 B.C. 440. point for inquiry about this person, what art or potent



ΑΣΠΑΣΙΑ

Bust of Aspasia. (From the Vatican Museum.)

faculty she had, to captivate, as she did, the greatest statesmen, and to give the philosophers occasion to mention her, not unfrequently, and not to her disparagement. That she was a Milesian by birth, the daughter of Axiochus, is agreed. And they say it was in emulation of Thargelia, one of the women of the old Ionian times, that she made her addresses to men of great power. Thargelia was of a beautiful person, very charming, and at the same time sagacious; she had numerous suitors among the Greeks, and brought over all who had to do with her to the Persian interest, and by their means, they being men of the greatest power and station, sowed

the seeds of the Median faction up and down in the cities.* Aspasia, some say, was courted and caressed by Pericles upon account of her knowledge and skill in politics. Socrates himself sometimes went to visit her with his acquaintance; and those who frequented her company would carry their wives with them to listen to her. Æschines also tells us that Lysicles, the sheep-dealer, a man of low birth and character, by keeping Aspasia company after Pericles's death, came to be a chief man in Athens. And in Plato's Menexenus†, though we do not take the introduction as quite serious, still thus much seems to be historical, that she had the repute of being resorted to by many of the Athenians for instruction in the art of speaking. Pericles's attachment to her seems, however, to have rather proceeded from the passion of love. He had a wife who was near of kin to him, who had been married first to Hipponicus, by whom she had Callias, surnamed the Rich; and also she brought Pericles, while she lived with him, two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus. Afterwards, when they did not live happily together, he parted with her, with her own consent, to another man, and himself took Aspasia, and loved her with wonderful affection; every day, they tell us, both as he went out and as he came in from the city-place, he saluted and kissed her. In the comedies she goes

* "Thargelia," says Athenæus, "was married to fourteen husbands; a woman of great beauty and cleverness."

† Plato's Menexenus is a funeral panegyric. Socrates, who delivers it, pretends in the introduction that he had learnt it all from Aspasia, *it was the remnant in fact of the lessons she gave Pericles, when she composed his funeral oration for him.*

by the nicknames of *the new Omphale* and *Deianira**; and again is styled *Juno*. Cratinus says, that *the Goddess of Misbehaviour* to find him a *Juno*, gave birth to *Aspasia*.† And it would seem also, that he had a son by her; Eupolis, in the *Demi*, introduces Pericles asking after his son's safety, and Myronides replying :

*"My son?" "He lives; a man he had been long,
But that the shameful mother did him wrong."*

Aspasia, they say, became so celebrated and renowned, that Cyrus also, who made war against Artaxerxes for the Persian monarchy, gave her whom he loved best of his concubines the name of Aspasia, who before was called Milto. She was a Phocæan by birth, the daughter of one Hermotimus; and when Cyrus fell in battle, was carried to the king, and had great influence at court. These things coming into my memory as I am writing, it would be unnatural for me to omit them.

- 25 Pericles, however, is particularly charged with having proposed the war against the Samians, from favour to the Milesians, upon the entreaty of Aspasia. For the two states were at war for the possession of Priene; and the Samians getting the better, refused to lay down their arms and to have the controversy decided by arbitration before the Athenians. Pericles, therefore, fitting out a fleet, went and broke up the oligarchical govern-

* Deianira is the wife of Hercules, who gave him the burning shirt, and Omphale, the Lydian queen who made him spin for her. Pericles was as tame to Aspasia as Hercules had been to Omphale, and she as pernicious as Deianira.

† It is a continuation of the passage quoted before, c. 3, p. 55.

ment at Samos, and taking fifty of the principal men of the town as hostages, and as many of their children, sent them to the isle of Lemnos, there to be kept. Though he had offers, as some relate, of a talent a piece for himself from each one of the hostages, and of many other presents from those in Samos who were anxious not to have a democracy. Moreover Pissuthnes the Persian, bearing some good will to the Samians, sent him ten thousand pieces of gold to excuse the city. Pericles, however, would receive none of all this; but after he had taken that course with the Samians which he thought fit, and set up a democracy among them, sailed back to Athens. They, nevertheless, immediately revolted, Pissuthnes having privily got away their hostages for them, and provided them with means for the war. Upon which Pericles came out with a fleet a second time against them, and found them not idle nor slinking away, but manfully resolved to try for the dominion of the sea. The issue was, that after a fierce battle near the island called Tragia, Pericles obtained a decisive victory, having with forty-four ships routed seventy of the enemy's, twenty of them being transports.

Together with his victory and pursuit, having made 26 himself master of the port, he laid siege to the Samians, and blocked them up, who yet, one way or other, still ventured to make sallies, and fight under the city walls. But after another greater fleet from Athens was arrived, and when the Samians were now shut up closely on every side, Pericles, taking with him sixty galleys, sailed out into the main sea, with the intention, as most authors give the account, to meet a squadron of Phœni-

cian ships that were coming for the Samians' relief, and to fight them at as great a distance as could be from Samos; but, as Stesimbrotus says, on an expedition to Cyprus; which does not seem to be probable. But whichever of the two was his intent, it seems to have been a miscalculation. For on his departure, Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a philosopher, being at that time general in Samos, despising either the small number of the ships that were left, or the inexperience of the commanders, prevailed with the citizens to attack the Athenians. And the Samians having won the battle, and taken several of the men prisoners, and disabled several of the ships, were masters of the sea, and brought in all necessities for the war, which they had not before. And Aristotle says, that Pericles himself had been once before this worsted by this Melissus in a sea-fight. The Samians, by way of retaliation, branded the Athenians whom they took prisoners in their foreheads with the figure of an owl. For so the Athenians had marked them before with a *samæna*, which is a sort of ship, with a low turning-up prow, like a snout, but wide and large and well-spread in the hold, so as both to carry a large cargo and sail well. And it was so called, because the first of the kind was made at Samos, having been built by order of Polycrates the tyrant. And these brands upon the Samians' foreheads, they say, are the allusion in the passage of Aristophanes,—

For, oh, the Samians are a lettered people.

- 27 Pericles, as soon as he heard of the disaster of his forces, came up speedily to their relief, and having de-

feated Melissus, who gave him battle, and put the enemy to flight, he immediately hemmed them in with a wall, resolving to master them and take the town, rather with cost and time, than with the wounds and hazards of his citizens. But as it was a hard matter to keep back the Athenians, who were vexed at the delay, and were eager to fight, he divided the whole multitude into eight divisions, and arranged by lot that the division which had *the white bean* should have leave to feast and take their ease, while the other seven were fighting. And this is the reason, some say, that people, when at any time they have been merry and enjoyed themselves, call it *white day*, in allusion to this white bean. Ephorus tells us, that Pericles also used engines of battery, being much taken with the curiousness of the invention, having the aid and presence of Artemon himself the engineer, who, being lame, used to be carried about in a litter, where the works required his attendance, and for that reason was called *periphoretus*.* But Heraclides Ponticus disproves this out of Anacreon's poems, where mention is made of this Artemon Periphoretus several generations before the Samian war or any of these occurrences. He says that Artemon, being a man who lived delicately and was a great coward about danger, for the most part kept within doors, having two of his servants to hold a brazen shield over his head, that nothing might fall upon him from above; and if he were at any time forced to go out of doors, he was carried in a little hanging bed, close to the very ground, and for this reason had the name of *periphoretus* given him.

* *Peri-phorétus*, from *peri-phoreo* to carry round.

28 In the ninth month, the Samians surrendering themselves and delivering up the town, Pericles pulled down their walls, and seized their shipping, and set a fine of a large sum of money upon them, part of which they paid down at once, and agreed to bring in the rest by a certain time, and gave hostages for security. Duris the Samian adds a tragical tale, charging the Athenians and Pericles with a great deal of cruelty, which neither Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle have given any relation of; and probably with little regard to truth; how, for example, he brought the captains and soldiers of the galleys into the market-place at Miletus, and there having kept them bound to boards for ten days, then when they were already all but half dead, gave order to have them killed by beating out their brains with clubs, and their dead bodies to be flung out unburied. Duris, however, who even where he has no private feeling concerned, is not wont to keep his narrative within the limits of truth, is the more likely upon this occasion to have exaggerated the calamities which befel his country, to create odium against the Athenians. Pericles, after the reduction of Samos, returning back to Athens, made honourable burial of those who died in the war, and spoke a funeral harangue, as the custom is, in their commendation, for which he gained great admiration. As he came down from the stage on which he spoke, the rest of the women came and complimented him, taking him by the hand, and crowning him with garlands and ribbons, like a victorious athlete in the games; but Elpinice came up to him, and said, "These are brave deeds, Pericles, that you have done, and such as deserve our chaplets; who

Surrender of
Samos,
B.C. 440.

have lost us many a worthy citizen, not in a war with Phœnicians or Medes, like my brother Cimon, but for the overthrow of an allied and kindred city." As Elpinice spoke these words, he smiling quietly, it is said, answered her with the verse from Archilochus, —

*When youth is o'er,
You must not hope for perfumes any more.**

Ion says of him, that upon this exploit of his conquering the Samians, he indulged high and proud thoughts of himself; *whereas Agamemnon was ten years a taking a barbarous city, in nine months he had vanquished and taken the greatest and most powerful of the Ionians.* And indeed it was not without reason that he assumed this glory to himself, for in real truth there was much uncertainty and great hazard in this war, if it be the fact, as Thucydides tells us, that the Samian state *came within a very little of wresting the dominion of the sea out of the Athenians' hands.*

After this was over, the Peloponnesian war beginning to break out in full tide, he advised the people to send help to the Corcyræans, who were attacked by the Corinthians, and to secure to themselves an island possessed of great naval resources, since the Peloponnesians were already all but in actual hostilities against them. The people consenting, and voting the succours, he despatched Lacedæmonius, Cimon's son, having only ten ships with him, as it were out of a design to affront him; for there was a great kindness and friendship be-

29
The war
between
Corinth
and Cor-
cyra,
B.C. 432.

* You and Cimon have had your day; and now I have mine. People do not shed costly unguents on grey hairs. When you are an old woman (so it is literally), you are not likely to have perfumes poured upon you.

twixt Cimon's family and the Lacedæmonians; so in order that Lacedæmonius might lie the more open to suspicion of favouring the Lacedæmonians and playing false, if he performed no considerable exploit in this service, he allowed him a small number of ships, and sent him out against his will. And indeed he made it somewhat his business to hinder Cimon's sons from rising in the state, professing that by their very names they were to be looked upon not as native and true Athenians, but foreigners and strangers, one being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and the third Eleus; and they were all three of them, it was thought, born of an Arcadian woman.* Being, however, ill spoken of on account of these ten galleys, as having afforded but a small supply to the people that were in need, and yet given a great advantage to those who might complain of the intervention, he sent a second larger force to Corcyra, which arrived after the fight was over. And when now the Corinthians, angry and indignant with the Athenians, accused them publicly at Lacedæmon, the Megarians joined with them, complaining that they were, contrary to common right and the articles of peace sworn to among the Greeks, kept out and driven away from every market and from all ports under the control of the Athenians. The Æginetans also, professing to be ill-used and treated with violence, made supplica-

* Cimon gave them these names, we are told, because he held the office of *próxenus*, or representative, at Athens for Lacedæmon, Elis, and Thessaly. In the life of Cimon, Plutarch tells us that this story of Pericles's animosity to them comes from Stesimbrotus of Thasos—not a very safe authority. See above, pages 36, 76, 92; and for the *próxenus*, below, page 131.

cations in private to the Lacedæmonians for redress, though not daring openly to call the Athenians in question. In the mean time, also, the city Potidæa, ^{Siege of Poti} ^{dæa,} ^{B.C. 432} under the dominion of the Athenians, but a colony of the Corinthians, had revolted, and was beset with a siege, and was a further occasion of precipitating the war. Yet notwithstanding all this, there being embassies sent to Athens, and Archidamus, the king of the Lacedæmonians, endeavouring to bring the greater part of the complaints to a settlement by arbitration, and to pacify the allies, it is very likely that the war would not upon any other grounds of quarrel have fallen upon the Athenians, could they have been prevailed with to repeal the ordinance against the Megarians, and to be reconciled to them. Upon which account, since Pericles was the man who mainly opposed it and stirred up the people's passions to persist in their contention with the Megarians, he was regarded as the sole cause of the war.

They say that ambassadors came from Lacedæmon to 30 Athens about this business, and that when Pericles was urging a certain law which made it illegal to take down or withdraw the tablet of the decree, one of the ambassadors, Polyalces by name, said: "Well! do not take it down then, but *turn* it; there is no law, I suppose, which forbids that;"* which, though prettily said, did not move Pericles from his resolution. There may have been, in all likelihood, something of a

* The word for *taking down*, in the literal sense, is also the technical term for revoking, or repealing; hence the Spartan's play upon the two senses; "If you may not take it down, turn it, with its face to the wall."

private animosity, which he had against the Megarians. Yet, upon a public and open charge against them, that they had appropriated part of the sacred land on the frontier*, he proposed a decree that a herald should be sent to them, and the same also to the Lacedæmonians, with an accusation of the Megarians; an order which certainly shows equitable and friendly proceeding enough. And when the herald who was sent, by name Anthemocritus, died, and it was believed that the Megarians had contrived his death, then Charinus drew up a decree, that there should be an irreconcilable and implacable enmity thenceforward betwixt the two commonwealths; and that if any one of the Megarians should but set his foot in Attica, he should be put to death; and that the generals, when they take the usual oath, should, over and above that, swear that they will twice every year make an inroad into the Megarian country; and that Anthemocritus should be buried near the Thriasian gates, now called the Double Gate.† The Megarians, on the other hand, utterly denying the murder of Anthemocritus, throw the whole matter upon Aspasia and Pericles, availing themselves of the well-known comic passage in the

* A certain space was left between the Megarian lands and the Athenian lands, which was no man's land, "but left sacred to the goddesses."

† It was larger than the others, and much frequented. The Sacred Road (or one branch of it) to Eleusis and the Isthmus led under it, and outside was the "most beautiful of the suburbs," the Ceramicus, the customary place of honorable burial. No mention is made of this story of Anthemocritus by Thucydides, or any cotemporary writer. But a tomb bearing his name was shown in the time of Pausanias, on the site here described.

Acharnians; how some young Athenians carried off the girl Simætha from Megara,

*Which exploit the Megarians to outdo,
Came to Aspasia's house, and took off two.*

The true first occasion of the quarrel is not so easy 31 to ascertain. But of inducing the refusal to annul the decree, all alike charge Pericles. Some say he met the request with a positive refusal, out of high spirit and a conviction as to the state's best interests, accounting the demand a mere trial of their compliance, and that a concession would be taken for a confession of weakness, as if they durst not do otherwise; while others say that rather out of arrogance and a wilful spirit of contention, to show his own strength, he chose to slight the Lacedæmonians. The worst account of all, and yet with the greatest number of witnesses to maintain it, is to the following effect. Phidias the sculptor had, as was said before, undertaken to make the statue of Minerva. He, being admitted to friendship with Pericles, and a great favorite of his, had many enemies on this account, who envied him. And others again who desired to make trial in a case of his, what kind of judges the commons would prove, should Pericles be brought before them, having tampered with Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, stationed him in the assembly with a petition desiring security upon information which he had to give against Phidias. The people admitting the man to tell his story, and the prosecution proceeding in the assembly, there was nothing of theft or cheat proved against him; for Phidias, from the very first beginning, by the advice of Pericles, had so wrought

and wrapt the gold about the statue, that they might take it all off and prove the weight of it, which Pericles at that time bade the accusers do. But the renown of his works had created an extreme jealousy of Phidias, and especially his having in the battle of the Amazons, which was depicted upon the goddess's shield, introduced a likeness of himself as a bald old man holding up a great stone with both hands, as also a remarkably beautiful figure of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. And the position of the hand, holding out the spear in front of the face, was ingeniously contrived to conceal in some degree the likeness, which, meantime, showed itself on either side. So Phidias was carried away to prison, and there died of a disease; but, as some say, of poison, administered by the enemies of Pericles, to raise the suspicion as though he had procured it. The informer Menon, upon Glycon's proposal, the people made free from payment of taxes, and ordered the generals to take care that nobody should do him any hurt.

- 82 About the same time Aspasia was indicted of impiety, upon the complaint of Hermippus the comedian, who also laid sundry other charges against her. And Diopithes proposed a decree, that public impeachment should be made of persons who neglected religion, or taught doctrines about things above*, directing

* "Supera ac cœlestia," as Cicero translates the words *meteōra* and *metarsia*, whence we have formed our *meteorology*. The whole Greek religion was based on certain conceptions of such phenomena (thunder and lightning, rain, the motions of the heavenly bodies and the like); any tampering with which was, therefore, quickly resented.

suspicion, through Anaxagoras, against Pericles himself. The people, receiving and welcoming such complaints and insinuations, at length was led to enact a decree, at the motion of Dracontides, that Pericles should bring in the accounts of the moneys he had expended, and lodge them with the Prytanes*; and that the judges, carrying their suffrage from the altar in the Acropolis, should examine and determine the business there in the City.† This last clause Hagnon took out of the decree, and moved that the cause should be tried before fifteen hundred jurors, whether the prosecution were to be for robbery, or bribery, or any kind of malversation. Aspasia Pericles begged off, shedding, Æschines says, many tears at the trial, and personally entreating the jurors. But fearing how it might go with Anaxagoras, he sent him out of the city. And as in Phidias's case he had failed with the people, being afraid of this coming trial, he kindled up the war, which had lingered and smothered, and blew it into a flame; hoping thus to disperse and scatter these complaints and charges, and to sober their jealousy; the city, in any great affairs and public dangers, throwing herself upon him, and trusting to his sole conduct, because of his credit and power. These are the various reasons which are given as having induced Pericles not to suffer the people to yield to the proposals of the Lacedæmonians; but what is the truth is uncertain.

* The Prytanes were the fifty presiding members of the council of the Five Hundred; they presided also in the general assemblies of the people, and were a sort of standing committee.

† Or Citadel; namely, the Acropolis, which still at that time was called "the City."

33 The Lacedæmonians, for their part, feeling sure that if they could once remove him, they might be pretty well at what terms they pleased with the Athenians, sent them word that *they should expel the Pollution*, with which Pericles on the mother's side was tainted, as Thucydides tells us.* But the issue proved quite contrary to what those who sent the message expected; instead of bringing Pericles under suspicion and reproach, they raised him into yet greater credit and esteem with the citizens, as a man whom their enemies most hated and feared. In the same way also, before Archidamus, at the head of the Peloponnesians, made his invasion into Attica, Pericles told the Athenians beforehand, that if Archidamus, while he laid waste the rest of the country, should spare his estate, either on the ground of the right of hospitality that was betwixt them, or to give his enemies an occasion of traducing him, that then he did freely bestow upon the state all that his land and the buildings upon it for the public use. The Lacedæmonians therefore and their allies, with a great army, invaded the Athenian territory, under the conduct of king Archidamus; and laying waste the country, marched on as far as Acharnæ, and there pitched their camp, presuming that the Athenians would never endure this, but would come out and fight them for their lands and their honour's sake. But Pericles judged it dangerous to engage in battle, to the risk of the city itself, against sixty thousand men-at-arms, of Peloponnesians and Bœotians; for so many they were in number that

First
year of
the Pe-
lopon-
nesian
War,
B.C. 431.

* The Alcæonidæ, from whom his mother came, were under pollution for having shared in putting Cylon to death when within sanctuary.

made this first invasion; and he endeavoured to appease those who were desirous to fight and were grieved and vexed at the sight, saying, that *trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a short time; but men, being once lost, cannot be recovered.* He did not convene the people to an assembly, for fear lest they should force him to act against his judgment; but, like the pilot of a ship, who, when a squall comes on out at sea, makes his arrangements, sees that all is tight and fast, and then does his duty, according to his skill, taking no notice of the tears and entreaties of the sea-sick and fearful passengers; so he, having shut up the city, and placed guards at all posts for security, followed his own reason and judgment, little regarding those that cried out against him, and were angry at his management. Although many of his friends urged him with requests, and many of his enemies threatened and accused him for doing as he did, and many made songs and lampoons upon him, which were sung about the town to his disgrace, reproaching him with the cowardly exercise of his office of general, and the tame abandonment of everything to the enemy's hands. Cleon also was already playing a part, making use of the feeling against him as a step for himself towards the leadership of the people, as appears in the verses of Hermippus:

*King among satyrs, instead of big words,
Will you the argument handle of swords?
Very courageous your talking we find;
You have the heart of a Teles* behind.
Daily to gnash with your teeth you are seen,
Under the dagger of Cleon so keen.*—

* Teles was apparently some notorious coward.

- 34 Pericles however was not moved by any attacks, but patiently, and in silence, submitted to disgrace and ill-will; and sending out a fleet of a hundred galleys to Peloponnesus, did not go along with it in person, but stayed behind, that he might watch at home and keep the city under control, till the Peloponnesians broke up their camp and were gone. Yet to soothe the common people, jaded and distressed with the war, he relieved them with distributions of public moneys, and ordained new divisions of subject land. Having expelled the people of Ægina, he parted the island among the Athenians by lot. Some comfort also in their miseries they might receive from what their enemies endured. For the fleet, sailing round the Peloponnese, ravaged a great deal of the country, and plundered the villages and smaller towns; and by land he himself entered the Megarian country, and made havoc of it all. Whence it is clear that the Peloponnesians, though they did the Athenians much mischief by land, yet suffering as much themselves from them by sea, would not have protracted the war to such a length, but would quickly have given it over, as Pericles at first foretold they would, had not some divine power crossed human purposes. In the first place, the pestilential disease, or plague, seized upon the city and ate up all the flower and prime of their youth and strength. With the suffering of which, the people, distempered and afflicted in their souls, not less than in their bodies, became utterly exasperated against Pericles, and like patients grown delirious, sought to lay violent hands on their physician, as it were, or, their father. They had been possessed by his enemies with the belief that the cause of the

Second
year of
the war.

The
plague
at
Athens,
B.C.430.

plague was the crowding of the country people together into the town; forced as they were now, in the heat of the summer weather, to dwell many of them together, even as they could, in small tenements and stifling huts; and to be tied to a lazy course of life within the house-walls, in exchange for their former pure, open, out-of-door habits. *The author of all this, said they, is he who on account of the war has poured a multitude of people from the country in upon us within the walls, and uses all these many men that he has here upon no employ or service, but keeps them pent up like cattle, to be over-run with infection from one another, affording them neither shift of quarters nor any refreshment.*

With the design to remedy these evils, and do the 35 enemy some inconvenience, Pericles got a hundred and fifty galleys ready, and having embarked many tried soldiers, both foot and horse, was about to sail out, giving great hope to his citizens and no less alarm to his enemies, upon the sight of so great a force. And now the vessels having their complement of men, and Pericles being gone aboard his own galley, it happened that the sun was eclipsed and it grew dark on a sudden; to the great affright of all, this being looked upon as extremely ominous. Pericles, therefore, perceiving the steersman seized with fear and at a loss what to do, took his cloak and held it up before the man's face, and screening him with it so that he could not see, asked him *whether he imagined there was any great hurt, or the sign of any great hurt in this*, and he answering *No*, "Well," said he, "and how does the one differ from the other, except that what has caused the darkness there, is something greater than a cloak?" This is a

story which philosophers tell their scholars. Pericles however, after putting out to sea, seems not to have done any other exploit befitting such preparations, and when he had laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus, which gave him some hope of surrender, miscarried in his design by reason of the sickness. For it not only seized upon the Athenians, but upon all others too, that held any sort of communication with the army. Finding after this the Athenians ill-affected and displeased with him, he tried and endeavored what he could to appease and re-encourage them. But he could not allay their anger, nor prevail with them any way, till they freely passed their votes upon him, resumed their power, took away his command from him, and fined him in a sum of money; which by their account that say least, was fifteen talents, while they who reckon most, name fifty. The name prefixed to the accusation was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; Simmias, according to Theophrastus; and Heraclides Ponticus gives it as Lacratidas.

- 36 Public troubles however, were soon to leave him unmolested; the people, so to say, discharged their passion in their stroke, and lost their stings in the wound. But his domestic concerns were in an unhappy condition; many of his near friends having died in the plague, and his family having long since been in a kind of mutiny against him. For the eldest of his lawfully-begotten sons, Xanthippus by name, being naturally prodigal, and marrying a young and expensive wife, the daughter of Tisander, son of Epilycus, was much offended at his father's economy, who made him small allowances, so much at a time. He sent therefore to a friend one day, and borrowed some money of him in his father

Pericles's name, pretending it was by his order. The man coming afterward to demand the debt, Pericles was so far from yielding to pay it, that he entered an action against him. Upon which the young man, Xanthippus, thought himself so ill-used, that he openly reviled his father; telling, first, by way of ridicule, stories about his conversations at home, and the arguments he had with the sophists and scholars that came to his house. As for instance, how one who, was a practiser of the five games of skill*, having with a dart or javelin un-awares against his will struck and killed Epitimus the Pharsalian, his father spent a whole day with Protagoras in a discussion, *whether the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the masters of the games who appointed these sports, were, according to the strictest and best reason, to be accounted the cause of what happened.* Besides this, Stesimbrotus tells us, it was Xanthippus who spread abroad among the people the infamous story concerning his own wife; and in general that this difference of the young man's with his father, and the breach betwixt them, continued never to be healed or made up till his death. For Xanthippus fell ill and died during the plague.—At which time Pericles lost also his sister, and the greatest part of his relations and friends, and those who had been most useful to him in the government. However he did not shrink or give in, nor betray or lower his high spirit and the greatness of his mind under his misfortunes; he was not even so much as seen to weep or to mourn, or even

* These are recorded in a pentameter verse by Simonides. *Halma, podōkeiēn, discon, aconta, palēn*,—leaping, running, the discus, dart-throwing, and wrestling.

attend the burial of any of his friends or relations, till at last he lost his only remaining legitimate son Paralus. Subdued by this blow, and yet striving still as far as he could, to maintain his principle, and to preserve and keep up the greatness of his soul, when he came, however, to perform the ceremony of putting a garland upon the head of the corpse, he was overcome by his passion at the sight, so that he burst into exclamations, and shed copious tears, having never done any such thing in all his life before.

- 87 The city having made trial of other generals and public speakers, for the conduct of the war, when they found there was no one who was of weight enough for such a charge, or of authority sufficient to be trusted with so great a command, regretted now the loss of him, and called him again to the speaker's stand, and the place of business of the generals.* He lay at home in dejection and mourning; but was persuaded by Alcibiades and others of his friends to come abroad and show himself to the people; who having, upon his appearance, made their acknowledgments, and apologised for their hard treatment of him, he undertook the public affairs once more; and being chosen general, requested that the statute concerning base-born children, which he himself had formerly caused to be made, might be repealed; that so the name and race of his family might not, for absolute want of a lawful heir to succeed, be wholly lost and extinguished. The case of the statute was thus. Pericles, when long ago at the height of his power in the state, having then, as has been said, children lawfully begotten, proposed a law, that those

* The generals' office; the war office, so to call it.

only should be reputed citizens of Athens who were born of such parents as were both Athenians. After this, the king of Egypt having sent the people by way of a present forty thousand bushels of wheat, which were to be shared out among the citizens, a great many actions and suits about legitimacy occurred, by virtue of that law; cases which, till that time, had not been known or taken notice of; and several persons suffered also by false accusations. There were little less than five thousand who were convicted and sold for slaves*; those who, enduring the test, remained in the citizenship, as true Athenians, were found to be fourteen thousand and forty persons in number. It looked strange, that a law, which had been carried so far against so many people, should be cancelled again by the same man that made it; yet the present calamity and distress which Pericles laboured under in his family, broke through all objections, and prevailed with the Athenians to pity him, as one whose losses and misfortunes had punished that former arrogance and haughtiness. His retribution had been, they thought, sufficient, and his request was such as became a man to ask and men to grant; they gave him permission to enrol his son in the register of his fraternity†, giving him his own name. This son

* Sold for slaves can hardly have been the fact, and it is not quite certain that Plutarch so wrote.

† The brotherhoods, or fraternities (*phratRIA* or *fratria* is the Greek), were old Attic associations of families. Every native Athenian belonged to a *fratria*, as his father did before him; but the political classification was no longer by *fratries* but by tribes and townships: and in these, (and not in the *fratries*), the various foreigners who received the citizenship would be enrolled.

afterwards, having defeated the Peloponnesians at Arginusæ, was, with his fellow-generals, put to death by the people.

- 38 About the time when his son was enrolled, it should seem, the plague seized Pericles, not with sharp and violent fits, as it did others that had it, but with a dull and lingering distemper, attended with various changes and alterations, leisurely, by little and little, wasting the strength of his body, and undermining the great faculties of his soul. Theophrastus, at least, in his *Morals*, when discussing whether men's characters change with their circumstances, and their moral habits, disturbed by the ailings of their bodies, start aside from the course of virtue, has stated that Pericles, when he was sick, showed one of his friends that came to visit him, an amulet or charm, that the women had hung about his neck; as much as to say, that he was very sick indeed when he would admit of such a foolery. When he was now near his end, the best of the citizens and those of his friends who were left alive, sitting about him, were speaking of the greatness of his merit, and his power, and reckoning up his famous actions and the number of his victories; for there were no less than nine trophies, which, as their commander and conqueror of their enemies, he had set up, for the honour of the city. They talked thus together among themselves, as though he were unable to understand or mind what they said, but had now lost his consciousness. He had listened, however, all the while, and attended to all, and speaking out among

* The death of Pericles was two years and six months after the beginning of the war.

them, said, that *he wondered they should commend and take notice of things which were as much owing to fortune as to anything else, and had happened to many other commanders, and at the same time, should not speak or make mention of that which was the most excellent and greatest thing of all.* "For," said he, "no Athenian, through my means, ever wore mourning."

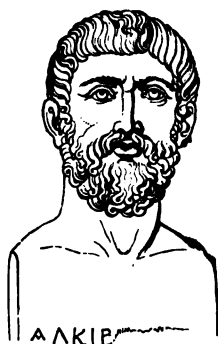
Our admiration is indeed his due, not only for the 39 equitable and patient temper, which throughout a busy life, and amidst great animosities, he maintained; but also for the high spirit and feeling which made him regard it the best of all his honours, that, in the exercise of such great power, he never had gratified his jealousy or his passion, nor ever had treated any enemy as irreconcilably opposed to him. And it appears to me that this one thing gives that otherwise childish and arrogant title a fitting and becoming significance; so dispassionate a temper, a life so pure and unblemished in authority, might well be called Olympian, in accordance with our conceptions of the divine beings, to whom, as the natural authors of all good and of nothing evil, we ascribe the rule and government of the world. Not as the poets represent, who, while confounding us with their ignorant fancies, are themselves confuted by their own poems and fictions; and call the place indeed where they say the gods make their abode *a secure and quiet seat, untroubled with winds or clouds, and equally through all time illumined with a soft serenity and a pure light,* as though such were a home most agreeable for a blessed and immortal nature; and yet, in the meanwhile, affirm that

the gods themselves are full of trouble and enmity and anger and other passions, which no way become or belong to even men that have any understanding. But this may, perhaps, seem fitter for another time and place. The course of public affairs after his death soon produced a lively sense of the loss of Pericles. Those who, while he lived, resented an authority, which obscured themselves, upon trial, when he was gone, of other orators and popular leaders, confessed there never had existed a character more moderate and reasonable in its ambition, or more noble and impressive in its gentleness. And that invidious power, which once they had called monarchy and tyranny, was then felt to have been a bulwark of public safety ; so much corruption, and such a flood of mischief and vice followed, which he, keeping weak and low, had withheld from notice, and prevented from attaining through impunity any incurable height.



Group of the Fates. (From the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.)

ALCIBIADES.



Alcibiades. (From the Vatican.)

THE first founder of the family of Alcibiades was, it is said, Eurysaces, the son of Ajax; and he was also descended from Alcmaeon, Dinomache, his mother, being a daughter of Megacles. His father, Clinias, having fitted out a galley at his own expense, gained great honour in the sea-fight at Artemisium, and was afterwards killed in the battle of Coronea, fighting against the Boeotians. Pericles and Aripbron, the sons of Xanthippus, nearly related to him, became the guardians of Alcibiades. It has been said not untruly, that the friendship and affection which Socrates felt for him, has much contributed to his general fame; and certain it is, that though we have no account from any writer concerning the mother of Nicias or Demosthenes, of Lamachus or Phormion, of Thrasylulus or Theramenes, notwithstanding these

were all illustrious men of the same period, yet we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that her country was Lacedæmon, and her name Amycla; and that Zopyrus was his teacher and attendant; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.* It is not, perhaps, material to say anything of the beauty of Alcibiades, only that it bloomed with him in all the ages of his life, in his childhood, in his youth, and in his manhood; and in the peculiar character becoming to each of these periods, gave him, in every one of them, a captivating grace and charm. What Euripides says, that

Of all fair things the autumn too is fair.†.

is by no means universally true. But it happened so with Alcibiades, amongst few others, by reason of his happy constitution and natural vigour of body. Even his lisping, when he spoke, they say, became him well, and gave a grace and persuasiveness to his rapid speech. Aristophanes takes notice of it in the verses in which he jests at Theorus: Alcibiades is made to remark, "How like a *colax* he is," meaning how like a *corax*‡, and then it is observed, *how hap-*

* Socrates, in the dialogue called the First Alcibiades, points out to his young friend, what an insufficient education he had had. His guardian Pericles had given him no better teacher than a certain Thracian, Zopyrus, the least serviceable of his slaves.

† Euripides said it at a supper-party (so Plutarch relates elsewhere) when he was laughed at for kissing Agathon the poet, an elderly man.

‡ *Colax*, a flatterer, *corax*, a crow; this fashionable Attic lisp, or slovenly articulation, turned the sound *r* into *l*.

pily he lisped the truth. Archippus also alludes to it in a passage where he ridicules the son of Alcibiades. That people may think him like his father,

*With languid step and trailing robe he walks,
Leaning his head, and lisping as he talks.*

His conduct in after life displayed many great inconsistencies and variations, not unnaturally, in accordance with the numerous and wonderful vicissitudes of his fortunes; but among the many strong passions of his real character the one most prevailing of all was his ambition and desire of superiority, which appears in several anecdotes told of his sayings whilst he was a child. Once being hard pressed in wrestling, and fearing to be thrown, he got the hands of his antagonist to his mouth, and bit with all his force; and when the other loosed his hold presently, and said, "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman," "No," replied he, "like a lion." Another time as he played at knuckle-bones in the street*, being then but a child, a loaded cart came by, when it was his turn to throw. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the cart was going to pass; but the man giving him no attention and driving on, when the rest of the boys divided and gave way, Alcibiades threw himself on his face before the cart, and stretching himself out bade the carter pass on now if he would; which so startled the man, that he put back his team, while all that saw it were terrified, and crying out ran to assist Alcibiades. When he began to study, he obeyed all

* *Astrégali*—which were thrown up in the air, like dice. Various games were played with them. See the wood-cut, p. 176.

his other masters fairly well, but refused to learn upon the flute as a sordid thing and not becoming a free citizen; saying, that to play on the lute or the harp does not in any way disfigure a man's body or face, but *one can hardly be known by the most intimate friends, when blowing into a pipe: moreover, one who plays on the harp may speak or sing at the same time; but the use of the flute stops the mouth, intercepts the voice, and prevents all articulation and speech.* "Therefore," said he, "let the Theban youths pipe who do not know how to speak, but we Athenians, as our ancestors have told us, have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and the other stripped the flute-player* of his skin." Thus, between raillery and good earnest, Alcibiades kept not only himself but others from learning; as it presently became the talk of the young boys, how Alcibiades despised playing on the flute, and ridiculed those who studied it. In consequence of which it ceased to be reckoned amongst the liberal accomplishments, and became generally neglected.

- 8 It is stated in the invectives of Antiphon against Alcibiades, that once, when he was a boy, he ran away to the house of Democrates, one of those who made a favourite of him, and that Aripbron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, that if he were dead, the proclaiming of him could only discover it one day sooner, and if he were safe, it would be a reproach to him as

* Marsyas the Phrygian.

HIS FLATTERERS.

long as he lived. Antiphon also says, that one of his followers with the blow of a byrtius's wrestling ground. But we can give no credit to the allegations of an enemy, who professes his design to defame him.

The many well-born persons who very soon collect about him and make their court to him doubt attracted by his brilliant and extraordinary beauty. But the affection which Socrates for him is a great evidence of the natural qualities and good disposition of the boy, which he soon detected both in and under his personance; and, fearing that his wealth and state would attract a great number both of strangers and Athenians, who would make it their business to flatter and caress him, and corrupt him, resolved, if possible, to intercept and preserve so hopeful a plant from perishing in flower, before its fruit came to perfection. He did fortune surround and enclose a man with all those things which we vulgarly call good, to protect him from every weapon of philosophy, and to keep him from every access of free and searching conversation. He did Alcibiades, who from the beginning was exposed to the flatteries of those who sought gratification, such as might well unnerve him, and dispose him to listen to any real adviser or philosopher. Yet such was the happiness of his genius, that he discerned Socrates from the rest, and adhered to him, whilst he drove away the wealthy and the powerful, who made court to him. And in a little time he became intimate, and Alcibiades, listening now entirely free from every thought of un-

ness and silly displays of affection, finding himself with one who sought to lay open to him the deficiencies of his mind and repress his vain and foolish arrogance,

Dropped like the craven cock his conquered wing.

He esteemed these endeavours of Socrates as most truly a means which the gods made use of for the care and



Bust of Socrates. (From the Vatican.)

preservation of youth*, and began to think meanly of himself, and to admire him; to be pleased with his kindness, and to stand in awe of his virtue; and thus, unawares to himself, there became formed in his mind that reflex image and reciprocation of Love, the *Anteros*†, that Plato talks of. It was a matter of general wonder,

* "Love," said the philosopher Polemon, "is a divine provision made for the care of the young." Love was created that the young might be cared for.

† Eros and Anteros, Love and Love-again.

when people saw him joining Socrates in his meals and his exercises, living with him in the same tent, whilst he was reserved and rough to all others who made their addresses to him, and acted indeed with great insolence to some of them. As in particular to Anytus the son of Anthemion, one who was very fond of him, and invited him to an entertainment which he had prepared for some strangers. Alcibiades refused the invitation; but, having drunk to excess at his own house with some of his companions, went thither with them to play some frolic; and standing at the door of the room where the guests were enjoying themselves, and seeing the tables covered with gold and silver cups, he bid the servants take away the one half of them, and carry them to his own house; and then, disdaining so much as to enter into the room himself, as soon as he had done this, went away. The company was indignant and exclaimed at his rude and insulting conduct; Anytus however said, *on the contrary, he had shown great consideration and tenderness in taking only a part, when he might have taken all.*

He behaved in the same manner to all others who 5 courted him, except indeed one stranger resident in Athens, who, as the story is told, having but a little property, sold it all for about a hundred pieces*, which he presented to Alcibiades, and besought him to accept. Alcibiades laughed, and seeming well pleased at the thing, invited him to supper, and after a very kind entertainment gave him his gold again, requiring him

* If pieces of silver, four-drachma, *i.e.* four-franc pieces; if of gold, twenty-drachma pieces; but these were not coined till a later period.

moreover not to fail to be present the next day, when the public revenue was offered to farm, and to outbid all others. The man would have excused himself, because the contract was so large and would cost so many talents; but Alcibiades, who had at that time a private pique against the farmers of the revenue, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. The next morning the stranger, coming to the market-place, offered a talent more than the existing rate; upon which the farmers, enraged and consulting together, called upon him to name his sureties, concluding that he could find none. The poor man, being startled at the proposal, began to retire; but Alcibiades, standing at a distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set my name down—he is a friend of mine; I will be security for him." When the other bidders heard this, they perceived that all their contrivance was defeated; for their way was, with the profits of the second year to pay the rent for the year preceding; so that, not seeing any other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they began to entreat the stranger, and offered him a sum of money. Alcibiades would not suffer him to accept of less than a talent; but when that was paid down, he bid him relinquish the bargain. Such was his liberality in this case.

- 6 Socrates, however, in his affection for him had many and powerful rivals. And in some degree the natural good qualities of Alcibiades gave him the mastery; his words overcame him so much, as to draw tears from his eyes, and to disturb his very soul. Yet sometimes he would abandon himself to flatterers, when they proposed to him varieties of pleasures, and

would slip away from Socrates; who then would pursue him, and seek him out, like a runaway slave, as indeed he despised every one else and had no reverence or awe for any one but him. Cleanthes the philosopher, speaking of one to whom he was attached, says *his only hold on him was by his ears; while his rivals had all the other places offered them.* And there is no question that Alcibiades was very easily caught by pleasures; the expression used by Thucydides about "the personal lawlessness of his living" gives occasion to believe so. But those who endeavoured to corrupt him, took advantage much more of his vanity and ambition, and thrust him on unseasonably to undertake great enterprises, persuading him, that as soon as he began to concern himself in public affairs, he would not only obscure the rest of the generals and politicians, but outdo the authority and the reputation which Pericles himself had gained in Greece. But in the same manner as iron which is softened by the fire, grows hard with the cold, and all its parts are closed again; so, as often as Socrates observed Alcibiades to be misled by luxury or pride, he reduced and corrected him by his reasonings, and made him humble and modest, by showing him in how many things he was deficient, and how very far from perfection in virtue.

When he was just past his childhood, he went once 7 to a grammar-school and asked the master for one of Homer's books; and he making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, Alcibiades gave him a blow with his fist and went away. Another schoolmaster telling him that he had Homer corrected by himself; "How?"

Siege
of Po-
tidæa,
B.C. 433
—429.

said Alcibiades, "and do you employ your time in teaching children to read? You who are able to amend Homer may well undertake to instruct men." Being once desirous to speak with Pericles, he went to his house, and was told there that he was not at leisure, but busied in considering how to render his accounts to the Athenians; Alcibiades, as he went away, said, "It were better for him to consider how he might avoid rendering up his accounts at all." And whilst he was yet very young, he served in the expedition against Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and stood next him in battle. Once there happened a sharp combat, in which they both behaved with signal bravery; but Alcibiades receiving a wound, Socrates threw himself before him to defend him, and beyond any question saved him and his arms from the enemy, and so in all justice might have challenged the prize of valour. But the generals appearing eager to adjudge the honour to Alcibiades, because of his rank, Socrates, who desired to increase his thirst after glory of a noble kind, was the first to give evidence for him, and pressed them to crown him, and to decree to him the complete suit of armour.

Battle
of De-
lium,
B.C. 424.

Afterwards, in the battle of Delium, when the Athenians were routed, and Socrates with a small party was retreating on foot, Alcibiades, who was on horseback, observing it, would not pass on, but stayed to shelter him from the danger, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed hard upon them and cut off many. But this was at a later time.

- 8 He gave a box on the ear to Hipponicus, the father of Callias, whose birth and wealth made him a person of great influence and repute. And this he did unpro-

voked by any passion or quarrel between them, but only because, in a frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do it. People were justly offended at this insolence, when it became known through the city; but early the next morning Alcibiades went to Hipponicus's house, and knocking at the door went in to him, took off his outer garment, and presenting his naked body, desired him to scourge and chastise him as he pleased. Upon this Hipponicus forgot all his resentment, and not only pardoned him, but afterwards gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say that it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, together with a portion of ten talents, and that after, when she had a child, Alcibiades forced him to give ten talents more, upon pretence that such was the agreement if she brought him children. Afterwards Callias, for fear of coming to his death by his means, declared, in a full assembly of the people, that if he should happen to die without children, the state would inherit his house and all his goods. Hipparete was a virtuous and dutiful wife, but at last growing impatient of the outrages done to her by her husband's continual entertaining of courtesans, as well strangers as Athenians, she left him and went to her brother's house. Alcibiades seemed not at all concerned at this, and lived on still in the same luxury; but the law requiring that she should deliver to the archon in person, and not by proxy, the instrument by which she claimed a divorce, when, in obedience to the law, she presented herself before him to perform this, Alcibiades came in, caught her up, and carried her home through the market-place, no one daring to oppose him, nor to take her from him. She

continued with him till her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades had gone to Ephesus. Nor was this violence thought so very scandalous or unmanly. For the law, in making her who desires to be divorced appear in public, seems to design to give her husband an opportunity of treating with her, and of endeavouring to retain her.

- 9 Alcibiades had a dog which cost him seventy minas, and was a very large one, and very handsome. His tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off; and his acquaintance exclaiming at him for it, and telling him that all Athens was sorry for the dog, and cried out upon him for this action, he laughed and said, "Just what I wanted has happened, then. I wished the Athenians to talk about this, that they might not say something worse of me."
- 10 It is said that, on the first occasion of his appearing in the assembly, he made a contribution of money for the public use; not however by design; but as he passed along he heard a shout, and inquiring the cause, and having heard there was a donative making, he went in amongst them and gave money also. And the multitude thereupon applauding him and shouting, he was so transported at it that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe, and the bird, being frightened with the noise, flew off; upon which the people made louder acclamations than before, and many of them started up to pursue the bird; and Antiochus, the pilot, caught it and restored it to him, for which he was ever after a favourite with Alcibiades. But with all his advantages for entering public life (his noble birth, his riches, the personal courage he had shown in divers battles, and the multi-

tude of his friends and relations throwing open, so to say, folding-doors for his admittance), he did not consent to let his power with the people rest on anything rather than on his own gift of eloquence. That he was a master in the art of speaking, the comic poets bear him witness; and the greatest of public speakers, in his oration against Midias*, allows that Alcibiades, among other perfections, was a most accomplished orator. If, however, we give credit to Theophrastus, who of all philosophers was the most curious inquirer, and the greatest lover of history, we are to understand that Alcibiades had the highest capacity for inventing†, for discerning what was the right thing to be said for any purpose and on any occasion; but aiming not only at saying what was required, but also at saying it well, in respect, that is, of words and phrases, when these did not readily occur, he would often stop short in the middle of his speech for want of the apt word, and would be silent and leave off till he could recollect himself, and find what he was seeking for.

His expenses in horses kept for the public games, and 11 in the number of his chariots, were matter of great observation; never did any one but he, either private person or king, send seven chariots to the Olympic

* Demosthenes prosecuted Midias for an assault on himself, and has a long passage in his speech about the way in which Alcibiades, in former times, in spite of his great pretensions, birth and wealth, capacity as a general, and skill as a speaker, had not been tolerated in his insolence to private persons.

† Invention in this sense is one of the five divisions of rhetoric, or the art of speaking: the other four being arrangement, diction, memory, delivery; *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*, as Cicero says in his "De Inventione."

The
90th
Olym-
piad.
July,
B. C. 420.

games. And to have carried away at once the first, the second, and the fourth prize, as Thucydides says, or the third, as Euripides relates it, outdoes far away every distinction that ever was known or thought of in that kind. Euripides celebrates his success in this manner :

— *But the song to you,
Son of Clinias, is due ;
Victory is noble ; how much more
To do, as never Greek before,
To obtain in the great chariot race
The first, the second, and third place ;
Advance with easy step to fame,
And three times* bid the herald claim
The olive for a single name.*

- 12 The emulation displayed by the deputations of various states, in the presents which they made to him, rendered this success yet more illustrious. The Ephesians erected a tent for him, adorned magnificently ; the city of Chios furnished him with provender for his horses, and with great numbers of beasts for sacrifice ; and the Lesbians sent him wine and other provisions, for the many great entertainments which he made. Yet in the midst of all this he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the ill-nature of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. For, it is said that one Diomedes, an Athenian, a worthy man and a friend to Alcibiades, passionately desiring to obtain the victory at the Olympic games, and having heard much of a chariot which belonged to the state at Argos, where he knew that Alcibiades had great power and many friends, prevailed with him to undertake to buy the chariot. Alcibiades did indeed buy it, but then claimed it for his own, leaving Dio-

* Perhaps more correctly, *twice*: for *tris* read *dis*.

medes to rage at him, and to call upon gods and men to bear witness to the injustice. It would seem there was a suit at law about it, and there is an oration extant *Concerning the Chariot*, written by Isocrates in defence of the son of Alcibiades, but the plaintiff here is named Tisias, and not Diomedes.

But as soon as he threw himself into politics, which 13 was when he was still very young, he quickly brought down the credit of all the advisers of the people, except Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus, who alone could contest it with him. Nicias was arrived at a mature age, and was esteemed their first general. Phæax was but a rising statesman, like Alcibiades; he was descended from noble ancestors, but was his inferior, as in many other things, so principally in eloquence. He possessed rather the art of persuading in private conversation, than of debate before the people; and was, as Eupolis said of him,

The best of talkers and of speakers worst.

An oration against Alcibiades exists, said to be by Phæax,* in which, amongst other things, it is told, that Alcibiades made daily use at his table of the many gold and silver vessels which belonged to the commonwealth, as if they had been his own. There was, however, a certain Hyperbolus of the township of Perithœdæ, whom Thucydides also speaks of as a man of bad character, and who on the stage was the general butt for the mockery of all the comic writers of the time, but was quite unconcerned at the worst they could say, indiffe-

* Perhaps the same as one now extant, ascribed to Andocides. Isocrates's speech is also still extant, *De Bigis*.

rent to good repute and therefore insensible of shame ; which some people call boldness and courage, whereas it is indeed impudence and recklessness. He was liked by nobody, yet the people made frequent use of him, when they had a mind to disgrace or calumniate any persons in authority ; and at this time they were prepared, by his persuasions, to proceed to pronounce the sentence of ten years' banishment, called ostracism. This they made use of to humiliate and drive out of the city such citizens as at any time outdid the rest in credit and power, indulging not so much perhaps their apprehensions as their jealousies, in this way. And when on this occasion there was no doubt but that the ostracism would fall upon one of those three, Alcibiades contrived to form a coalition of parties, and communicating his project to Nicias, turned the sentence upon Hyperbolus himself. Others say it was not with Nicias, but Phæax, that he consulted, and by help of Phæax's friends procured the banishment of Hyperbolus, who suspected nothing less. For no mean or obscure person had ever fallen under that punishment, so that Plato, the comic poet, speaking of Hyperbolus, might well say,

Ostracism of Hyperbolus, some time between B.C. 420, and B.C. 415.

*The man deserved the fate ; deny't who can ?
Yes, but the fate did not deserve the man ;
Not for the like of him and his slave-brands
Did Athens put the sherd into our hands.*

But we have given elsewhere* a fuller statement of what is known to us of the matter.

14 Alcibiades, however, was not less disturbed at the

* In the life of Nicias. The probable time is B.C. 416 ; a little before the Sicilian expedition.

distinctions which Nicias received from the enemies of Athens than at the honours which the Athenians themselves paid to him. For though Alcibiades was the proper appointed person* to receive Lacedæmonians when they came to Athens, and had taken particular care of those that were made prisoners at Pylos, yet, ^{Spartan defeat at Pylos, B.C. 425.}



Pylos, now Navarino.

after they had obtained the peace and restitution of the captives by the procurement chiefly of Nicias, they paid special attentions to him. And it was commonly said in Greece, that the war was begun by Pericles, and that Nicias made an end of it, and the peace was generally

* He was, says Plutarch, Lacedæmonian *proxenus* at Athens. The *proxenus* in the ancient cities was a native citizen who undertook to help and protect the citizens of another state who came to stay there. He served the same purpose as consuls in modern times; only he was always a citizen of the city he lived in; and hence the office generally ran in a family. Alcibiades was displeased, that Spartan envoys coming to Athens should seek hospitality and assistance from any one but himself. Compare the Life of Pericles, c. 29.

The
peace of
Nicias,
B.C. 421.

called the peace of Nicias. Alcibiades, extremely annoyed at this, and full of envy, set himself to break the treaty. First, therefore, observing that the Argives, as well out of fear as hatred of the Lacedæmonians, sought for protection against them, he gave them a secret assurance of alliance with Athens. And communicating, as well in person as by letters, with the chief advisers of the people there, he encouraged them not to fear the Lacedæmonians, nor make concessions to them, but to wait a little and keep their eyes on the Athenians, who already were all but sorry they had made peace, and would soon give it up. And presently, when the Lacedæmonians had made a league with the Bœotians, and had not delivered up Panactum entire*, as they ought to have done by the treaty, but only after first destroying it, which gave great offence to the people of Athens, Alcibiades laid hold of that opportunity to exasperate them more highly. He clamoured against Nicias, and accused him of many things, which seemed probable enough; as that, when he was general he made no attempt himself to capture their enemies that were shut up in the isle of Sphacteria; but when they were afterwards made prisoners by others, he procured their release and sent them back to the Lacedæmonians, only to get favour with them; that he would not make use of his credit with them to prevent their entering into this confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; and yet, on the other side, that he sought to stand in the way of those Greeks who were inclined

* The Bœotians had taken Panactum, a fort on the frontier of Attica. They were bound by the terms of the peace to give it up; they did give it up, but pulled it down first.

to make alliance and friendship with Athens, because forsooth the Lacedæmonians might not happen to like it. Just when Nicias was by these arts brought into disgrace with the people, ambassadors arrived from Lacedæmon, holding at once a satisfactory language, and adding that they *had full powers to arrange all matters in disputes upon friendly and equitable terms*. The council had received them, and the people were to assemble on the morrow to give them audience. Alcibiades got alarmed, and contrived to gain a secret conference with the envoys. When they were met, he said : " What is it you intend, ye men of Sparta ? Can you be ignorant that the council always act with moderation and respect towards ambassadors, but that the people are full of ambition and great designs ? If you let them know what full powers you possess, they will urge and press you to unreasonable conditions. Quit, therefore, this indiscreet simplicity, if you expect to obtain equal terms from the Athenians, and would not have things extorted from you contrary to your inclinations ; and begin to treat with the people for terms of agreement, not avowing yourselves plenipotentiaries. And I will be ready to assist you out of good-will to the Lacedæmonians." When he had said thus, he gave them his oath for the performance of what he promised, and by this way drew them from Nicias to rely entirely upon himself ; and left them full of admiration of the discernment and sagacity they had seen in him. The next day, when the people were assembled and the ambassadors introduced, Alcibiades, with great apparent courtesy, asked them, *With what powers they were come ?* They answered, *Not as plenipotentiaries*. Instantly, Alcibiades,

The
Spartan
em-
bassy,
B.C. 420

with a loud voice, as though he had received and not done the wrong, began to call them dishonest prevaricators, and to urge that such men could not possibly come to say or do anything that was sincere. The council also complained, the people were in a rage, and Nicias, who knew nothing of the deceit and the imposture, was in the greatest surprise and confusion at such a change in the men.

15 So thus the Lacedæmonian ambassadors were utterly rejected, and Alcibiades was declared general, who presently united the Argives, the Eleans, and the people of Mantinea, into a confederacy with the Athenians. And though no man commended the method by which he effected it, nevertheless it was a great political feat thus to divide and shake almost all Peloponnesus, and to combine so many men in arms against the Lacedæmonians in one day before Mantinea; and, moreover, to remove the war and the danger so far from the frontier of the Athenians, that even success would profit the enemy but little, should they be conquerors, whereas if they were defeated, Sparta itself was hardly safe. After this battle at Mantinea, the select thousand* of the Argives immediately set to work to overthrow the people in Argos, and make themselves masters of the city; and the Lacedæmonians came to their aid and abolished the democracy. But the people took arms again and gained the advantage, and Alcibiades came to their aid, and completed the victory, and persuaded them to build

Alliance
with
Argos.
Alcibi-
ades
general,
B. C. 419.

Battle
of Man-
tinea,
B. C. 418.

* The *select thousand* were young men of the richer classes, enrolled in a separate military corps. The Spartans had won the day at Mantinea, and this encouraged the attempt.

long walls, and by that means to join their city to the sea, and so to place it wholly within the reach of the Athenian power. To this purpose he procured them builders and masons from Athens, and displayed the greatest zeal for their service, and gained no less honour and power to himself than to the commonwealth of Athens. He also persuaded the people of Patræ to join their city to the sea, by building long walls; and when some one told them, by way of warning, that the Athenians *would swallow them up*, Alcibiades made answer, *Perhaps so, by little and little, and beginning at the feet, but the Lacedæmonians would begin at the head and do it all at once.* Nor did he neglect to advise the Athenians to look to their interests by land, and to make good the oath which was put to the youths in the temple of Agraulos*, that they would *account wheat and barley, and vines and olives, to be the limits of Attica*; so instructing them to claim a title to all land that is cultivated and productive.

But with all these words and deeds, and with all this ¹⁶ sagacity and high spirit, he intermingled exorbitant luxury and pride and wantonness in his eating and drinking and dissolute living; wore long purple robes like a woman, which dragged after him as he went through the market-place; caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that so he might lie the softer, his bed not

* Agranlos, or Agraule, from whom the township of Agraule took its name, was one of the daughters of Cecrops, who to fulfil an oracle, which promised victory on such a condition, threw herself from the rocks of the Acropolis. The people built her a temple, and here the young Athenians, on first assuming arms, took this oath.

being placed on the boards, but hanging upon girths. His shield, again, which was richly gilded, had not the usual ensigns of the Athenians, but a Cupid, holding a thunderbolt in his hand, was painted upon it. The sight of all this made the people of good repute in the city feel disgust and abhorrence, and apprehension also, at his high-handed living and his contempt of law, as things monstrous in themselves, and indicating designs of usurpation. Aristophanes has well expressed the people's feeling towards him :—

They love, and hate, and cannot do without him.

And still more strongly, under a figurative expression,

*Best rear no lion in your State, 'tis true ;
But treat him like a lion if you do.*

The truth is, his contributions of money, his public shows, and other munificence to the people, which were such as nothing could exceed, the glory of his ancestors, the force of his eloquence, the grace of his person, his strength of body, joined with his great courage and knowledge in military affairs, prevailed upon the Athenians to endure the rest patiently, to indulge many things to him, and, according to their habit, to give the softest names to his faults, attributing them to youth and good-nature. He kept Agatharchus, the painter, a prisoner till he had painted his whole house, but then dismissed him with a reward. He publicly struck Taureas, who exhibited plays in opposition to him, and competed with him for the prize. He selected for himself one of the captive Melian women, and had a

child by her, whom he took care to bring up. This the Athenians called great humanity; and yet he was the principal cause of the slaughter of all the inhabitants of the isle of Melos who were of age to bear arms, ^{Capture of Melos B. C. 416.} having spoken in favour of that decree. When Aristophan the painter had drawn Nemea sitting and holding Alcibiades in her arms*, the multitude were pleased with the piece, and thronged to see it, but older people disliked it, and looked on all these things as enormities, and movements towards tyranny. So that it was not said amiss by Arcestratus, that *Greece could not support a second Alcibiades*. Once, when Alcibiades succeeded well in the assembly, and a crowd of people attended him home to do him honour, Timon, the misanthrope, did not pass by, nor avoid him as he did others, but met him, and taking him by the hand, said, "Go on, my son; and increase in credit with the people; you will one day bring them calamities enough." Some that were present laughed at the saying, and some reviled Timon; but there were others upon whom it made a deep impression. So various was the judgment which was made of him, and so uneven his own character.

The Athenians, even in the lifetime of Pericles, had 17 already cast a longing eye upon Sicily; but did not attempt anything till after his death. Then, under ^{The Sicilian expedition, B.C. 415.} pretence of aiding their friends, they sent succours upon

* The picture was one of two made in honour of his victories in the games. In one of them the two deities of the Olympian and Pythian games were painted crowning him; the other represented him thus embraced by Nemea, the goddess of the Nemean games.

several occasions to those who were oppressed by the Syracusans, thus preparing the way for an expedition with a greater force. But Alcibiades was the person who inflamed this desire of theirs to the height, and prevailed with them no longer to proceed by partial measures, and by little and little, in their design, but to sail out with a great fleet, and undertake at once to make themselves masters of the island. He possessed the people with great hopes, and he himself entertained yet greater; and the conquest of Sicily, which was the utmost bound of their ambition, was but the mere outset of his expectation. Nicias endeavoured to divert the people from the enterprise, by representing to them that the taking of Syracuse would be a work of great difficulty; but Alcibiades dreamed of nothing less than the conquest of Carthage and Libya, and by the accession of these conceiving himself at once made master of Italy and of Peloponnesus, seemed to look upon Sicily as little more than a magazine for the war. The young men were soon elevated with these hopes, and listened gladly to those of riper years, who talked wonders of the countries they were going to; so that you might see great numbers sitting in the wrestling-grounds and on the public seats, drawing on the ground the figure of the island, and the situation of Libya and Carthage. Socrates the philosopher and Meton the astronomer are said, however, never to have hoped for any good to the commonwealth from this war; the one, it is to be supposed, presaging what would ensue, from signs given him by his attendant Genius; and the other, either upon rational consideration of the project, or by use of some art of divination, conceived fears for

its issue, and, feigning madness, caught up a burning torch, and seemed as if he would have set his own house on fire. Others relate, that he did not make any pretence of being mad, but set his house on fire secretly in the night, and the next morning besought the people that for his comfort, after such a calamity, they would spare his son from the expedition. By which artifice he deceived his fellow-citizens, and obtained of them what he desired.

Together with Alcibiades, Nicias, much against his will, was appointed general; and endeavoured to avoid the command, not the less on account of his colleague. But the Athenians thought the war would proceed more prosperously, if they did not send Alcibiades free from all restraint, but tempered his heat with the caution of Nicias. This they chose the rather to do, because Lamachus, the third general, though he was advanced in years, yet in several battles had appeared no less hot and rash than Alcibiades himself. When they began to deliberate as to the amount of the forces and the manner of making the necessary provisions, Nicias made another attempt to oppose the design and to prevent the war; but Alcibiades contradicted him, and carried his point with the people. And one Demostratus, an orator, proposing to give the generals absolute power for the preparations and the whole management of the war, it was presently so decreed. When all things were fitted for the voyage, many unlucky omens appeared. Just at the time fell the feast of Adonis, in which the women used to lay out in many parts of the city images resembling dead men carried out to their burial, and to represent funeral solemnities by beating

Mutilation
of the
Hermæ.

themselves, and singing mournful songs. The mutilation however of the images of Mercury, most of which



A herma, or statue of Mercury.

in one night had their faces all disfigured, terrified many persons who were wont to disregard most things of that nature. It was given out that it was done by the Corinthians, for the sake of the Syracusans, who were their colony, in hopes that the Athenians by such prodigies might be induced to delay or abandon the war. But this report gained no credit with the people, nor yet the belief of those who would not suppose that there was anything ominous in the matter, but thought it only an extravagant action, committed in that sort of sport which runs into license, by wild young men coming from a debauch. Alike enraged and terrified at the thing, looking upon it to proceed from a conspiracy of persons, who designed some commotions in the state, the council, as well as the assembly of the people, both of which met frequently in a few days' space, examined diligently everything that might administer ground for suspicion.

During this examination, Androcles, one of the demagogues, produced certain slaves and strangers before them, who accused Alcibiades and some of his friends of defacing other images in the same manner, and of having profanely acted the sacred Mysteries at a drunken meeting, where one Theodorus represented the Herald, Polytion the Torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the Chief Priest, while the rest of the party appeared as candidates for initiation, and had the style of Initiates. These are the matters contained in the articles of information*, which Thessalus the son of Cimon exhibited against Alcibiades, for his impious mockery of the two goddesses, Ceres and Proserpine. The people were highly exasperated and incensed against Alcibiades upon this accusation, which being aggravated by Androcles, the most malicious of all his enemies, at first disturbed his friends exceedingly. But when they perceived that all the seamen designed for Sicily were for him, and the soldiers also, and when the Argive and Mantinean auxiliaries, a thousand men at arms, openly declared that they had undertaken this distant maritime expedition for the sake of Alcibiades, and that, if he was ill-used, they would all go home, they recovered their courage, and became eager to make use of the present opportunity for justifying him. At this his enemies were again discouraged, fearing lest the people should be more gentle to him in their sentence, because of the occasion they had for his service. Therefore to obviate this, they contrived that some other orators,

* An *Eisangelia*, the technical term for an indictment before the legislature, for misdemeanours not coming strictly under the letter of any written law.

who did not appear to be enemies to Alcibiades, but really hated him no less than those who avowed it, should stand up in the assembly and say, that it was a very absurd thing that one who was created general of such an army with absolute power, after his troops were assembled, and the confederates were come, should lose the opportunity, delaying here whilst the list of the jurors should be made up, and a day and hour be determined for the pleadings: *and, therefore, let him sail at once; good fortune attend him; and when the war should be at an end, he might then in person make his defence according to the laws.* Alcibiades perceived the malice of this postponement, and, appearing in the assembly, represented that it was monstrous for him to be sent with the command of so large an army, when he lay under such accusations and calumnies; that he *deserved to die if he could not clear himself of the crimes objected to him; but when he had so done, and had proved his innocence, he should then cheerfully apply himself to the war, as standing no longer in fear of false accusers.*

- 20 But when he could not prevail with the people, who commanded him to sail immediately, he set out, and the other generals with him, having under their command near one hundred and forty galleys, five thousand one hundred men at arms, and about one thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and light-armed men; and all the other provisions corresponding. And arriving on the coast of Italy, he occupied Rhegium, and there stated his views of the manner in which they ought to conduct the war. He was opposed by Nicias; but Lamachus being of his opinion, they sailed for

Sicily forthwith, and took Catana. This was all that was done while he was there, for he was immediately after summoned home by the Athenians to abide his trial. At first, as we before said, there were only some slight suspicions advanced against Alcibiades, and evil reports by certain slaves and strangers. But afterwards, in his absence, his enemies attacked him more violently, and confounded together the breaking the images with the profanation of the Mysteries, as though both had been committed in pursuance of the same conspiracy for changing the government. The people proceeded to imprison all that seemed in any way implicated in the matter, without distinction, and without hearing them, and repented now, considering the importance of the charge, that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and given judgment upon him. Any of his relations or friends or companions who fell into the people's hands, whilst they were in this fury, did not fail to meet with very severe usage. Thucydides has omitted to name the informers, but others mention Diocliides and Teucer. Amongst whom is Phrynichus, the comic poet, in whom we find the following :—

*O dearest Hermes ! only do take care,
And mind you do not miss your footing there ;
Should you get hurt, occasion may arise,
For a new Diocliides to tell lies.*

To which he makes Mercury return this answer :—

*I will so : for I feel no inclination
To reward Teucer for more information.*

The truth is, his accusers alleged nothing that was cer-

tain or solid against him. One of them, being asked how he knew the men who defaced the images, replying, that he saw them by the light of the moon, made a palpable misstatement, for it was just new moon when the fact was committed. This made all men of understanding cry out upon the thing; but the people were as eager as ever to receive further accusations, nor was their first heat at all abated, but they went on seizing and imprisoning every one that had anything said against them.

- 21 Amongst those who were detained in prison for their trials, was Andocides the orator, whose descent the historian Hellanicus deduces from Ulysses. He was always supposed to hate popular government, and to support oligarchy. The chief ground of his being suspected of defacing the images, was because the great Mercury, which stood near his house, and was an ancient monument of the tribe *Ægeïs*, was almost the only statue, of all the remarkable ones, which remained entire. For this cause it is now called the Mercury of Andocides, all men giving it that name, though the inscription is evidence to the contrary. It happened that Andocides, amongst the rest who were prisoners upon the same account, contracted particular acquaintance and intimacy with one Timæus, a person inferior to him in repute, but of remarkable dexterity and boldness. He persuaded Andocides to accuse himself and some few others of this crime, urging to him that upon his confession he would be, by the decree of the people, secure of his pardon, whereas *the event of judgment is uncertain to all men, but to great persons, such as he was, most formidable: and it was better for him, if he*

regarded himself, to save his life by telling a lie, than to suffer an infamous death, and remain, although unjustly, under the same imputation: and if he had regard to the public good, it was commendable to sacrifice a few suspected men, by that means to rescue many excellent persons from the fury of the people. Andocides was prevailed upon, and accused himself and some others, and by the terms of the decree obtained his pardon, while all the persons named by him, except some few who had saved themselves by flight, suffered death. To gain the greater credit to his information, he accused his own servants amongst others. But notwithstanding this, the people's anger was not immediately appeased; and being now less taken up with the mutilators, they had their whole passion, as it were, at their disposal to be discharged upon Alcibiades. In conclusion they sent, the Salaminian galley to recall him. They had the wisdom, however, to command those that were sent, to use no violence, nor seize upon his person, but address him in the mildest terms, requiring him to follow them to Athens, in order to abide his trial, and clear himself before the people. For they feared disorder and sedition in the army in an enemy's country; which indeed it would have been easy for Alcibiades to excite, if he had wished it. For the soldiers were dispirited upon his departure, expecting for the future tedious delays, and that the war would be drawn out into a lazy length by Nicias, when Alcibiades, who was the spur to action, was taken away. For though Lamachus was a soldier, and a man of courage, poverty deprived him of authority and respect in the army.

Alcibiades, in his very departure, prevented Messina 22

from coming into the hands of the Athenians. There were some in that city who were upon the point of delivering it up, but he, knowing better than any one their names, gave information to the friends of the Syracusans, and so defeated the whole contrivance. When he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and there concealed himself, and escaped those who searched after him. To one who knew him, and asked him, *if he durst not trust his own native country*, he replied, "In everything else, yes; but in a matter that touches my life, I would not trust even my mother, lest she by mistake might throw in the black ball instead of the white." When afterwards he was told that the assembly had pronounced judgment of death against him, all he said was, "I will make them feel that I am alive." The information against him was conceived in this form:—"Thessalus son of Cimon, of the township of the Laciadæ, lays information that Alcibiades son of Clinias, of the township of the Scambonidæ, has committed a crime against the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by representing in derision the Holy Mysteries, and showing them to his companions in his own house. Where, being habited in such robes as are used by the Chief Priest when he shows the holy things, he named himself the Chief Priest, Polytion the Torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the township of Phegæa the Herald; and saluted the rest of his company as Initiates and Adepts. All which was done contrary to the laws and institutions of the Eumolpidæ and the Heralds and the Priests of the temple at Eleusis." He was condemned as contumacious upon his not appearing, his property confiscated, and a decree made that

all the priests and priestesses should solemnly curse him. One only of whom, Theano the daughter of Menon, of the township of Agraule, is said to have resisted that part of the decree, saying, that her holy office obliged her to *make prayers, but not execrations.*

Alcibiades, lying under these heavy decrees and 23 sentences, when first he fled from Thurii, passed over into Peloponnesus, and was at this time staying at Argos. But being there in fear of his enemies, and thinking himself utterly hopeless of return to his native country, he sent to Sparta, desiring safe conduct, and assuring them, that he would make them more than amends by his future services for the mischief he had done them while he was their enemy. The Spartans giving him the security he desired, he went among them with eagerness, and at his very first coming, succeeded in inducing them to delay and hesitate no longer about sending aid to the Syracusans; and so roused and excited them, that they forthwith despatched Gylippus into Sicily, to crush the forces which the Athenians had in Sicily. A second point was, to renew the war upon the Athenians at home. But the third thing, and the most important of all, was to make them fortify Decelea, which above everything reduced and wasted the substance of the Athenians. The renown which he earned by these public services was equalled by the admiration he attracted to his private life; he captivated and won over everybody by his conformity to Spartan habits. People who saw him wearing his hair close cut, bathing in cold water, eating coarse meal, and dining on black broth, doubted, or rather could not believe, that he had ever had a cook in his house, or seen

Gylippus in Syracuse. B.C. 414.

Renewal of the war in Greece, and occupation of Decelea. B.C. 413.

the face of a perfumer, or worn a scarf of Milesian fine wool. For he had, we are told, this peculiar talent and artifice for gaining men's affections, that he could at once comply with and really embrace and enter into their habits and ways of life, and change as often and as fast as the chameleon. One colour indeed they say the chameleon cannot assume; it cannot make itself appear white: but Alcibiades, whether with good men or with bad, could adapt himself to his company, and wear indifferently the appearance of virtue or vice. At Sparta, he was devoted to athletic exercises, was frugal and reserved; in Ionia, luxurious, gay, and careless; in Thrace, always drinking; in Thessaly, ever on horseback; and when he lived with Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, he exceeded the Persians themselves in magnificence and pomp. Not that his natural disposition changed so easily, nor that his real character was so very variable, but whenever he was sensible that by pursuing his own inclinations he might give offence to those with whom he had occasion to converse, he transformed himself into any shape, and adopted any fashion, that he observed to be most agreeable to them. So that to have seen him at Lacedæmon, a man, judging by the outward appearance, would have said: "'Tis not Achilles' son, but he himself, the very man" that Lycurgus designed to form; while his real feelings and acts would have rather provoked the exclamation: "'Tis the same woman still."* For while king Agis was absent and abroad

* "'Tis not Achilles' son, but he himself, the very man," is quoted elsewhere by Plutarch, but is otherwise unknown. "'Tis the same woman still," is said of Helen by Electra in the

with the army, he corrupted his wife Timæa, and had a child born by her. Nor did she even deny it, but when she was brought to bed of a son, called him in public Leotychides, but amongst her confidants and attendants, would whisper that his name was Alcibiades. To such a degree was she transported by her passion for him. He on the other side would say, in his vain way, he had not done this thing out of mere wantonness of insult, nor to gratify a passion, but *in order that his race might one day be kings over the Lacedæmonians*. There were many who told Agis of what was doing: and time itself gave the surest evidence. For Agis, alarmed by an earthquake, had quitted his wife, and for ten months after was never with her; Leotychides therefore being born at the end of those ten months, he would not acknowledge him for his son, which was the reason that afterwards he was not admitted to the succession.

After the Athenians had suffered their disaster in Sicily, envoys came to Sparta at once from Chios, and Lesbos, and Cyzicus, to signify their purpose of revolting from Athens. The Bœotians interposed in favour of the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus of the Cyzicenes, but the Lacedæmonians, at the persuasion of Alcibiades, chose to assist Chios before all others. He himself also sailed instantly to the spot, procured the immediate revolt of almost all Ionia, and co-operating with the Lacedæmonian generals, did great mischief to the Athenians. But Agis was his enemy, hating him for having

Defeat
of the
Athe-
nians in
Sicily,
B.C. 413.
Revolt
of Ionia,
B.C. 412.

Orestes of Euripides (129), when, in making a funeral offering, she had, to save her beauty, cut off only the very ends of her hair.

dishonoured his wife, and also impatient of his glory, as almost every enterprise and every success was ascribed to Alcibiades. Others also of the most powerful and ambitious amongst the Spartans were possessed with jealousy of him, and at last prevailed with the magistrates in the city to send orders into Ionia that he should be killed. Alcibiades however quietly obtained intelligence of this, and, in apprehension of the result, while he joined in all the measures of the Lacedæmonians, took care not to put his person in their power; and at last withdrawing for his safety's sake to Tissaphernes, the king of Persia's satrap, immediately became the first and most influential person about him. For this barbarian, not being himself sincere, but a lover of guile and wickedness, admired his address and the wonderful versatility of his talents. And, indeed, the charm of daily familiar intercourse with him was more than any character could resist or any disposition escape. Even those who feared and envied him, could not but take delight, and have a sort of kindness for him, when they saw him and were in his company. So that Tissaphernes, otherwise above all other Persians a hater of the Greeks, was yet so won by the flatteries of Alcibiades, that he set himself even to exceed him in responding to them. The most beautiful of his parks, containing salubrious streams and meadows, where he had built pavilions and places of retirement royally and exquisitely adorned, received by his direction the name of *Alcibiades*, and was always so called and so spoken of.

- 25 Thus Alcibiades, abandoning his hopes with the Spartans, whom he could no longer trust, and because also he

stood in fear of Agis, set himself henceforth to do them ill offices, and render them odious to Tissaphernes, who by his means was hindered from assisting them vigorously, and from finally ruining the Athenians. For his advice was to furnish the Spartans but sparingly with money, and so wear them out, and consume them insensibly; *when both parties had wasted their strength upon one another, they would each become ready to submit to the king.* Tissaphernes readily pursued his counsel, and so openly expressed the liking and admiration which he had for him, that Alcibiades was looked up to by the Greeks of both parties, and the Athenians now in their misfortunes repented them of their sentence against him. And he, on the other side, began to be troubled for them, and to fear lest, if Athens were utterly destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, his enemies. At that time pretty nearly the whole strength of the Athenians was in Samos. Their fleet maintained itself here, and from these head-quarters they issued to reduce such as had revolted, and to protect those that had not; in one way or other still contriving to be a match for their enemies at sea. What they stood in fear of, was Tissaphernes and the Phœnician fleet, of one hundred and fifty galleys, which was said to be already near at hand; if those came, there remained no further hope for Athens. Understanding this, Alcibiades sent secretly to the chief men of the Athenians at Samos, giving them hopes that he would make Tissaphernes their friend; he was willing, he implied, *to do some favour, not to the people, nor in reliance upon them, but to the better citizens, if only, like brave men, they would make the*

attempt to put down the insolence of the people, and do their best themselves to save the city from ruin. All of them gave a ready ear to the proposal made by Alcibiades, except only Phrynichus of the township of Dirades, one of the generals, who suspected, as the truth was, that Alcibiades cared not at all whether the government were in the many or the few, but only sought by any means to make way for his own return, and to that end inveighed against the people, to gain the good opinion and assistance of the others. But when he found his counsel rejected and himself become a declared enemy of Alcibiades, he sent secretly a message to Astyochus, the enemy's admiral, cautioning him to beware of Alcibiades, and to seize him as a double-dealer, unaware that one traitor was making discoveries to another. For Astyochus, who was anxious above everything for the favour of Tissaphernes, knowing the credit Alcibiades had with him, revealed to Alcibiades all that Phrynichus had said against him. Alcibiades at once despatched messengers to Samos, to accuse Phrynichus of the treachery. Upon this all the commanders were enraged with Phrynichus, and set themselves against him, and he, seeing no other way to extricate himself from the present danger, attempted to remedy one evil by a greater. He sent to Astyochus to reproach him for betraying him, and to make an offer to him at the same time, to deliver into his hands both the army and the navy of the Athenians. This occasioned no damage to the Athenians, because Astyochus repeated his treachery, and revealed also this proposal to Alcibiades. And this again was foreseen by Phrynichus, who, expecting a second accusation

from Alcibiades, to anticipate him, advertised the Athenians beforehand that *the enemy was ready to sail in order to surprise them*, and therefore advised them to fortify their camp, and to be in readiness to go aboard their ships. While the Athenians were intent upon doing these things, they received other letters from Alcibiades, admonishing them to *beware of Phrynichus, as one who designed to betray their fleet to the enemy*; to which they now gave no credit at all, conceiving that Alcibiades, who knew perfectly the counsels and preparations of the enemy, was merely making use of that knowledge, in order to impose upon them in this false accusation of Phrynichus. Yet, afterwards, when Phrynichus was stabbed with a dagger in the market-place by Hermon, one of the frontier-guards, the Athenians, after a trial of the cause, solemnly condemned Phrynichus of treason, and decreed crowns to Hermon and his associates.

And now the friends of Alcibiades carrying all before 26 them at Samos, despatched Pisander to Athens, to attempt a change of government, and to encourage the aristocratical citizens to take upon themselves the conduct of affairs, and to overthrow the democracy, representing to them, that upon these terms Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tis-saphernes. This was the colour and pretence made use of by those who desired to change the government of Athens to an oligarchy. But as soon as they prevailed, and had got the administration into their hands, under the name of the Five Thousand, whereas, indeed, they were but Four Hundred. they slighted Alcibiades altogether, and prosecuted the war with less vigour. Partly

The go-
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of the
Four
Hun-
dred.
B.C. 411.

because they durst not yet trust the citizens, who had no kindness for this change, and partly because they thought the Lacedæmonians, who always befriended the government of the few, would be inclined to give them some not unfavourable terms. The people in the city were terrified into submission, many of those who had dared openly to oppose the Four Hundred having been put to death. But those who were at Samos, indignant when they heard this news, were eager to set sail instantly for the Piræus; and, sending for Alcibiades, they declared him general, requiring him to lead them on to put down the tyrants. He however in that juncture did not, as it might have been thought a man would, on being suddenly exalted by the favour of a multitude, think himself under an obligation to gratify and submit to all the wishes of those who, from a fugitive and an exile, had created him general of so great an army and given him the command of such a fleet. But, as became a great captain, he opposed himself to the precipitate resolutions which their rage led them to, and by restraining them from the great error they were about to commit, unequivocally saved the commonwealth. For if they then had sailed to Athens, all Ionia and the islands and the Hellespont, would have fallen into the enemy's hands without opposition, while the Athenians, involved in civil war, would have been fighting with one another within the circuit of their own walls. It was Alcibiades alone, or at least principally, who prevented all this mischief; for he not only used persuasion to the whole multitude, and explained to them the danger, but applied himself to them, one by one, entreating some, and constraining others.

He was much assisted by Thrasybulus of Stiria, who, having the loudest voice, as we are told, of all the Athenians, went along with him, and cried out to those who were eager to be gone. A second great service which Alcibiades did for them, was his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected to be sent to them by the king of Persia, should either come in aid of the Athenians, or otherwise should not come at all. He sailed off with all expedition in order to perform this, and the ships, which had already been seen as near as Aspendus, were not brought any further by Tissaphernes, who thus deceived the Lacedæmonians; and it was by both sides believed that they had been diverted by the procurement of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, accused him that he had advised the Barbarian to stand still and suffer the Greeks to waste and destroy one another, as indeed it was evident that the accession of so great a force to either party would enable them to take away the entire dominion of the sea from the other side.

Soon after this, the Four Hundred usurpers were 27 driven out, the friends of Alcibiades vigorously assisting those who were for the popular government. And now the people in the city not only desired, but commanded Alcibiades to return home from his exile. He however desired not to owe his return to the mere grace and commiseration of the people, and resolved to come back, not with empty hands, but with glory, and after some service done. First of all therefore he sailed out from Samos with a few ships, and cruised about the sea in the neighbourhood of Cnidos and Cos. But receiving intelligence there that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral

Over-
throw
of the
Four
Hun-
dred.

War
on the
Helles-
pont.
Battle
of Aby-
dos, B.C.
411.

was sailing with his whole force towards the Hellespont, and that the Athenians had followed him, he hurried back to reinforce the Athenian commanders, and, by good fortune, arrived with eighteen galleys at a critical time. For both the fleets having come to a general action near Abydos, the fight between them had lasted till dusk, the one side having the advantage on one quarter, and the other on another. Upon his first appearance, both sides formed a false impression; the enemy was encouraged, and the Athenians terrified. But Alcibiades raised the Athenian ensign in the admiral ship, and fell without delay upon those galleys of the Peloponnesians, which had the advantage and were in pursuit. He soon put these to flight, and followed them so close that he forced them on shore, and broke the ships in pieces, the sailors abandoning them and swimming away, and this in spite of all the efforts of Pharnabazus, who had come down to their assistance by land, and did what he could from the shore to protect them. In fine, the Athenians having taken thirty of the enemy's ships and recovered all their own, erected a trophy. After the gaining of so glorious a victory, his vanity made him eager to show himself to Tissaphernes, and, having furnished himself with gifts and presents, and an equipage suitable to his dignity, he set out to visit him. But the thing did not succeed as he had imagined; for Tissaphernes, who had been so long complained of by the Lacedæmonians, and was now afraid to fall into disgrace with his king upon that account, thought this arrival of Alcibiades a very seasonable opportunity, and caused him to be seized and sent away prisoner to Sardis; fancying by this

act of injustice to clear himself from all former imputations.

But about thirty days after, Alcibiades by some 28 means or other got a horse and escaped from his keepers, and came to Clazomenæ, where he procured Tissaphernes additional disgrace by professing he was a party to his flight. From thence he sailed to the Athenian camp, and being informed there that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicus, he made a speech to the soldiers, telling them that *sea-fighting, land-fighting, and, by the gods, fighting against fortified cities too, must be all one for them, as unless they conquered everywhere, there was no money for them.* As soon as ever he got them on ship-board, he hastened to Proconesus, and gave command to seize all the small vessels they met, and guard them safely in the interior of the fleet, that the enemy might have no notice of his coming; and a great storm of rain accompanied with thunder and darkness, which happened at the same time, contributed much to the concealment of his enterprise. Indeed, it was not only undiscovered by the enemy, but the Athenians themselves were ignorant of it, for he commanded them suddenly on board, and set sail when they had abandoned all intention of it. As the darkness presently passed away, the Peloponnesian fleet were seen riding out at sea in front of the harbour of Cyzicus. Fearing if they discovered the number of his ships, they might endeavour to save themselves by land, he commanded the rest of the captains to slacken, and follow him slowly, whilst he, advancing with forty ships, showed himself to the enemy, and provoked them to fight. The enemy,

Battle
of Cyzi-
cus, B.C
410.

being deceived as to their numbers, despised them, and supposing they were to contend with those only, made themselves ready and began the fight. But as soon as they were well engaged, they perceived the other part of the fleet coming down upon them, at which they were so terrified, that they fled immediately. Upon that, Alcibiades, breaking through the midst of them with twenty of his best ships, hastened to the shore, disembarked, and pursued those who abandoned their ships and fled to land, and made a great slaughter of them. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, coming to their succour, were defeated. Mindarus was slain upon the place, fighting valiantly; Pharnabazus saved himself by flight. The Athenians slew great numbers of their enemies, won much spoil, and took all their ships. They also made themselves masters of Cyzicus, which was deserted by Pharnabazus, and destroyed its Peloponnesian garrison, and thus not only secured to themselves the Hellespont, but drove the Lacedæmonians from out of all the rest of the sea. They intercepted some letters written to the Ephora, which gave an account of this fatal overthrow, after their short laconic manner: "All is amiss* ; Mindarus is dead; the men starve; we don't know what to do."

- 29 The soldiers who followed Alcibiades in this last fight were so exalted with their success, and felt that degree of pride, that, looking on themselves as invincible, they disdained to mix with the other soldiers, who had been often overcome. For it happened not long before, Thrasyllus had received a defeat near Ephesus,

* Or perhaps "the ships are lost."

and upon that occasion the Ephesians erected their brazen trophy to the disgrace of the Athenians. The soldiers of Alcibiades reproached those who were under the command of Thrasyllus with this misfortune, at the same time magnifying themselves and their own commander, and it went so far that they would not exercise with them, nor lodge in the same quarters. But soon after, Pharnabazus, with a great force of horse and foot, falling upon the soldiers of Thrasyllus, as they were laying waste the territory of Abydos, Alcibiades came to their aid, routed Pharnabazus, and, together with Thrasyllus, pursued him till it was night; and in this action the troops united, and returned together to the camp, rejoicing and congratulating one another. The next day he erected a trophy, and proceeded to lay waste with fire and sword the province under Pharnabazus, where none ventured to resist; and he took divers priests and priestesses, but released them without ransom. He prepared next to attack the Chalcedonians, who had revolted from the Athenians, and had received a Lacedæmonian governor and garrison. But having intelligence that they had removed their corn and cattle out of the fields, and were conveying it all to the Bithynians, who were their friends, he drew down his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and then sent a herald to charge them with this proceeding. The Bithynians, terrified at his approach, delivered up to him the booty, and entered into alliance with him.

Afterwards he proceeded to the siege of Chalcedon, 30 and inclosed it with a wall from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced with his forces to raise the siege, and Hippocrates, the governor of the town, at the same time

Capture
of Cha-
cedon,
and

Selym-
bria,
B.C. 408.

gathering together all the strength he had, made a sally upon the Athenians. Alcibiades divided his army so as to engage them both at once, and not only forced Pharnabazus to a dishonourable flight, but defeated Hippocrates, and killed him and a number of the soldiers with him. After this he sailed into the Hellespont, in order to raise supplies of money, and took the city of Selymbria, in which action, through his precipitation, he exposed himself to great danger. For some within the town had undertaken to betray it into his hands, and, by agreement, were to give him a signal by a lighted torch about midnight. But one of the conspirators beginning to repent himself of the design, the rest, for fear of being discovered, were driven to give the signal before the appointed hour. Alcibiades, as soon as he saw the torch lifted up in the air, though his troops were not in readiness to march, ran instantly towards the walls, taking with him about thirty men only, and commanding the rest of the army to follow him with all possible speed. When he came thither, he found the gate opened for him, and entered with his thirty men and about twenty more light-armed men, who were come up to them. They were no sooner in the city, but he perceived the Selymbrians all armed, coming down upon him : so that there was no hope of escaping if he stayed to receive them ; and, on the other hand, having been always successful till that day, wherever he commanded, he could not endure to be defeated and fly. So, requiring silence by sound of a trumpet, he commanded one of his men to make proclamation that the Athenians should not attack the Selymbrians. This cooled such of the inhabitants as

were fiercest for the fight, for they supposed that all their enemies were within the walls, and it raised the hopes of others who were disposed to an accommodation. Whilst they were parleying, and propositions made on one side and the other, Alcibiades's whole army came up to the town. And now conjecturing rightly that the Selymbrians were well inclined to peace, and fearing lest the city might be sacked by the Thracians, who came in great numbers to his army to serve as volunteers, out of kindness for him, he commanded them all to retreat without the walls. And upon the submission of the Selymbrians, he saved them from being pillaged, and only taking from them a sum of money, and placing an Athenian garrison in the town, departed.

In the mean time the Athenian generals who besieged 31 Chalcedon, concluded a treaty with Pharnabazus upon these articles: That he should give them a sum of money; that the Chalcedonians should return to the subjection of Athens; and that the Athenians should make no inroad into the province whereof Pharnabazus was governor; and Pharnabazus was also to provide safe conducts for the Athenian ambassadors to the king of Persia. Therefore now, when Alcibiades returned thither, Pharnabazus required that he also should be sworn to the treaty; but he refused it, unless Pharnabazus would swear at the same time. When the treaty was sworn to on both sides, Alcibiades went against the Byzantines, who had revolted from the Athenians, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. But Anaxilaus and Lycurgus together with some others having undertaken to betray the city to him upon his

Treaty
with
Pharna-
bazus.
Cap-
ture of
Byzan-
tium,
B.C. 408.

engagement to preserve the lives and property of the inhabitants, he caused a report to be spread abroad, as if by reason of some unexpected movement in Ionia, he should be obliged to raise the siege. And accordingly in the day-time he made a show to depart with his whole fleet; but returned the same night, and went ashore with all his men-at-arms, and silently and undiscovered marched up to the walls. At the same time his ships rowed into the harbour with all possible violence, coming on with much fury and great shouts and outcries. The Byzantines, thus surprised and astonished, while they all hurried to the defence of their port and shipping, gave opportunity to those who favoured the Athenians, securely to receive Alcibiades into the city. Yet the enterprise was not accomplished, without fighting, for the Peloponnesians, Boeotians, and Megarians not only repulsed those who came out of the ships, and forced them on board again, but, hearing that the Athenians were entered on the other side, drew up in order, and went to meet them. Alcibiades, however gained the victory after some sharp fighting, in which he himself had the command of the right wing and Theramenes of the left, and took about three hundred who survived of the enemy, prisoners of war. After the battle, not one of the Byzantines was slain or driven out of the city, according to the terms which those who delivered over the city had required, making no private stipulation of advantage to themselves. And thus Anaxilaus, being afterwards accused at Lacedæmon for this treason, neither disowned the action nor professed to be ashamed of it: for he urged that he was *not a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine*, and saw not

Sparta, but Byzantium, in danger, the city so blockaded, that it was not possible to bring in any new provisions, and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, who were in garrison, devouring the old stores, whilst the Byzantines with their wives and children were starving: that he had not, therefore, betrayed his country to enemies, but had delivered it from the calamities of war, and *had but followed the example of the most worthy Lacedæmonians, who esteemed nothing to be honourable and just, but what was profitable for their country.* The Lacedæmonians, upon hearing his defence, respected it, and discharged all that were accused.

And now Alcibiades began to desire to see his native 32 country again, or rather to show his fellow-citizens a person who had gained so many victories for them. He set sail for Athens, the ships that accompanied him B.C. 407. being adorned with great numbers of shields and other spoils, and towing after them many galleys taken from the enemy, and the ensigns and ornaments of many others which he had sunk and destroyed; all of them together amounting to two hundred. Little credit perhaps can be given to what Duris the Samian, who professed to be descended from Alcibiades, adds; that Chrysogonus, who had gained a victory at the Pythian games, played upon his flute for the galleys, whilst the oars kept time with the music, and that Callippides the tragedian, attired in his purple robes, and other ornaments used in the theatre, gave the word to the rowers, and that the admiral galley entered into the port with a purple sail. Neither Theopompus, nor Ephorus, nor Xenophon mentions them. Nor indeed is it credible, that one who returned from so long an

exile and such variety of misfortunes, should come home to his countrymen in the style of revellers breaking up from a drinking-party. On the contrary, he entered the harbour full of fear, nor would he venture to go on shore, till, standing on the deck, he saw Euryptolemus his cousin and several others of his friends and acquaintance, who were ready to receive him and invited him to land. As soon as he was landed, the multitude, who came out to meet him, scarcely seemed so much as to see any of the other captains, but came in throngs about Alcibiades, and saluted him with loud acclamations, and still followed him; those who could press near him, crowned him with garlands, and they who could not come up so close, yet stayed to behold him afar off, and the old men pointed him out, and showed him to the young ones. Nevertheless, this public joy was mixed with some tears, and the present happiness was allayed by the remembrance of the miseries they had endured. They made reflections that they could not have so unfortunately miscarried in Sicily, or been defeated in any of their other expectations, if they had left the management of their affairs formerly, and the command of their forces, to Alcibiades. Since upon his undertaking the administration, when they were in a manner driven from the sea, and could scarce defend the suburbs of their city by land, and at the same time were miserably distracted with intestine factions, he had raised them up from this low and deplorable condition, and had not only restored them to their ancient dominion of the sea, but had also made them everywhere victorious over their enemies by land.

There had been a decree for recalling him from his banishment already passed by the people, on the motion of Critias the son of Callæschrus, as appears by his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of this service:—

*From my proposal did that edict come,
Which from your tedious exile brought you home;
The public vote at first was moved by me,
And my voice put the seal to the decree.*

And when the people now met in assembly, Alcibiades came in amongst them, and first bewailed and lamented his own sufferings, and in gentle terms complaining of the usage he had received, imputed all to his *hard fortune and some ill genius that attended him*: then he spoke at large of their prospects, and exhorted them to *courage and good hope*. The people crowned him with crowns of gold, and created him general, both at land and sea, with absolute power. They also made a decree that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the holy Heralds should absolve him from the curses which they had solemnly by sentence of the people pronounced against him. Which when all the rest obeyed, Theodorus the Chief Priest excused himself, "For," said he, "if he is innocent, I never cursed him."

But notwithstanding the affairs of Alcibiades went so prosperously and so much to his glory, yet some people were still a little disturbed, and looked upon the time of his arrival to be ominous. For on the day that he came into the port the feast of the goddess Minerva, which they call the Plynteria, was kept. It

The
Plyn-
teria,
May, 407
B.C.

is the twenty-fifth day of Thargelion, when the Praxiergidæ solemnise their secret rites, taking all the ornaments from off her image, and keeping the part of the temple where it stands close covered. Hence the Athenians esteem this day most inauspicious, and never undertake anything of importance upon it. And therefore they imagined that the goddess did not receive Alcibiades graciously and propitiously, thus hiding her face and rejecting him. Yet, notwithstanding, everything succeeded according to his wish. And while the one hundred galleys, that were to return with him, were now fitting, and their crews collecting, an honourable zeal detained him till the celebration of the Mysteries was over. For ever since Decerea had been occupied, as the enemy commanded the roads leading from Athens to Eleusis, the procession, being conducted

Cele-
bration
of the
Myste-
ries,
Sep-
tember,
407 B.C.



Eleusis.—From an original Sketch by Sir W. Gell.

by sea, had not been performed with any proper solemnity; they were forced to omit the sacrifices, and dances, and other holy ceremonies, which had usually been performed in the way, when they *led forth*

Iacchus.* Alcibiades, therefore, judged it would be a glorious action, which would do honour to the gods, and gain him esteem with men, if he restored the ancient splendour to these rites, escorting the procession again by land, and protecting it with his army in the face of the enemy. For either, if Agis stood still and did not oppose, it would very much diminish and obscure his reputation, or, in the other alternative, Alcibiades would engage in a holy war, in the cause of the gods, and in defence of the most sacred and solemn ceremonies; and this in the sight of his country, where he should have all his fellow-citizens witnesses of his valour. As soon as he had resolved upon this design, and had communicated it to the Eumolpidæ and Heralds, he placed sentinels on the tops of the hills, and at the break of day sent forth his scouts. And then taking with him the Priests the Initiates and the Initiators, and encompassing them with his soldiers, he conducted them with great order and profound silence: an august

* *Iacchus* is only another way of pronouncing *Bacchus*, who in the most current story is the son of *Semele*, the Theban princess. But in the Eleusinian rite, the sacred power or divinity of wine was regarded as the son, not of any human parent, but of *Earth-mother*, *Demeter*, or *Ceres*; and in the great day of the festival the whole multitude of worshippers was supposed to escort him along the Sacred Road from Athens, on his visit to his mother's home at Eleusis. There the Priests (of the sacred family of the Eumolpidæ) and Heralds, and the Initiated or Adepts (*Epoptæ*) and the candidates for initiation (Initiates, Novices, *Mystæ*) went in with him, and the candidates were presented by their sponsors (Initiators, *Mystagogi*), and admitted by the Chief Priest, (the Hierophant) to the sight of the secret ceremonial. This is the procession which the Greeks thought they saw supernaturally made in the air while they were fighting the battle of Salamis.

and venerable procession, wherein all who did not envy him said, he performed at once the office of a general and of a Chief Priest. The enemy did not dare to attempt anything against them; and thus he brought them back in safety to the city. Upon which, as he was exalted in his own thought, so the opinion which the people had of his conduct was raised to that degree, that they looked upon their armies as irresistible and invincible while he commanded them; and he so won, indeed, upon the lower and meaner sort of people, that they passionately desired to have him "tyrant" over them, and some of them did not scruple to tell him so, and to advise him to put himself out of the reach of envy, by abolishing the laws and ordinances of the people, and suppressing the idle talkers that were ruining the state, that so he might act and take upon him the management of affairs, without standing in fear of being called to an account.

- 35 How far his own inclinations led him to usurp sovereign power is uncertain, but the most considerable persons in the city were so much afraid of it, that they hastened him on ship-board as speedily as they could, appointing the colleagues whom he chose, and allowing him all other things as he desired. Thereupon he set sail with the fleet of one hundred ships, and, arriving at Andros, he there fought with and defeated as well the inhabitants, as the Lacedæmonians who assisted them. He did not, however, take the city: and this gave the first public occasion to his enemies for their accusations against him. Certainly, if ever man was ruined by his own glory, it was Alcibiades. For his continual success had produced such an idea of his

courage and conduct, that if he failed in anything he undertook, it was imputed to his neglect, and no one would believe it was through want of power. For they thought nothing was too hard for him, if he went about it in good earnest. They fancied, every day, that they should hear news of the reduction of Chios and of the rest of Ionia, and grew impatient that things were not effected as fast and as rapidly as they could wish for them. They never considered how extremely money was wanting, and that, having to carry on war with an enemy who had the great king for their purveyor, their commander was often forced to quit his armament, in order to procure money and provisions for the subsistence of his soldiers. This it was which gave the opportunity for the last accusation against him. For Lysander, being sent from Lacedæmon with a commission to be admiral of their fleet, and being furnished by Cyrus with a great sum of money, gave every sailor four obols a day, whereas before they had but three. Alcibiades could hardly allow his men three obols, and therefore was constrained to go into Caria to furnish himself with money. He left the care of the fleet in his absence to Antiochus, an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate, who had express orders from Alcibiades not to engage, though the enemy provoked him. But he slighted and disregarded these directions to that degree, that having made ready his own galley and another, he stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and as he sailed before the heads of their galleys, used every provocation possible, both in words and deeds. Lysander at first came out with a few ships, and pursued him. But all the Athenian ships coming in

War in
Ionia,
Cyrus
gover-
nor, Ly-
sander
admiral.
Battle
of No-
tium,
B.C. 407.

to his assistance, Lysander also brought up his whole fleet, which gained an entire victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many men and ships, and erected a trophy. As soon as Alcibiades heard the news, he returned to Samos, and loosing from thence with his whole fleet, came and offered battle to Lysander. But Lysander, content with the victory he had gained, would not stir.

- 86 Amongst others in the army who hated Alcibiades, was Thrasybulus the son of Thrason, who now went purposely to Athens to accuse him, and to exasperate the people against him. Addressing the assembly, he represented that Alcibiades had *ruined their affairs, and lost their ships, by mere self-conceited neglect of his duties*, committing the government of the army in his absence to men who gained his favour by drinking and scurrilous talking, whilst he wandered up and down at pleasure to raise money, giving himself up to every sort of luxury and excess amongst profligate creatures of Abydos and Ionia, at a time when the enemy's navy were on the watch close at hand. It was also objected to him, that he had fortified a castle near Bisanthe in Thrace, for a safe retreat for himself, as one that either could not, or would not, live in his own country. The Athenians gave credit to these informations, and showed the resentment and displeasure which they had conceived against him, by choosing other generals. As soon as Alcibiades heard of this, he immediately quitted the army altogether, afraid of what might follow; and collecting a body of mercenary soldiers, he made war upon his own account against those Thracians who called themselves free and acknow-

ledged no king; by which means he amassed to himself a considerable treasure, and at the same time secured the bordering Greeks from the incursions of the barbarians. And when Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the Athenian commanders*, posted themselves at Ægos-potami, with all the ships which the Athenians possessed, from whence they were used to go out to sea every morning, and offer battle to Lysander who lay near Lampsacus, and having so done, to return back again, and lie all the rest of the day, carelessly and without order, in contempt of the enemy, Alcibiades, who was not far off, did not think so slightly of their danger, nor neglect to let them know it, but mounting a horse, came to the generals, and represented to them that they had chosen a very inconvenient station, where there was no safe harbour, and where they were distant from any town, so that they were constrained to send for their necessary provisions as far as Sestos. He also pointed out to them their carelessness in suffering the soldiers, when they went ashore, to disperse and wander up and down at their pleasure, while the enemy's fleet, under the command of a single general, whose every order had to be obeyed in silence, like a king's, lay so very near them.

Battle
of Ægos-
potami,
B.C. 405.

He exhorted them to remove the fleet to Sestos. The 37 admirals however not only disregarded what he said, but Tydeus, with insulting expressions, commanded him to be gone, saying, that now *not he, but others, had the command of the forces*. Alcibiades, suspecting

* These were not his immediate successors, who had superseded him. A full year, following his deposition, intervenes; the events of which will be found related in the life of Lysander.

also something of treachery in them, departed, and told his friends, who accompanied him on his way out of the camp, that if the generals had not used him with such insupportable contempt, he would within a few days have forced the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to have fought the Athenians at sea, or to have deserted their ships. Some looked upon this as a piece of ostentation only; others said, the thing was probable, for that he might have brought down by land great numbers of the Thracian cavalry and archers, to assault and disorder them in their camp. The event however soon made it evident, how rightly he had judged of the errors which the Athenians committed. For Lysander fell upon them on a sudden, when they least suspected it, with such success that Conon alone with eight galleys escaped him; all the rest, which were about two hundred, he took and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners, whom he put to death. And within a short time after he took

Capture
of
Athens,
B.C. 404.

Athens itself, burnt all the ships which he found there, and demolished their Long Walls. After this, Alcibiades, standing in dread of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. He sent thither great treasure before him, took much with him, but left much more in the castle where he had before resided. But he lost great part of his wealth in Bithynia, being robbed by some Thracians, who lived in those parts, and thereupon determined to go to the court of Artaxerxes, not doubting but that the king, if he would make trial of his abilities, would find him not inferior to Themistocles, besides that he was recommended by a more honourable cause. For he

went to offer his service, not as Themistocles did, against his fellow-citizens, but against their enemies, and to implore the king's aid for the defence of his country. He concluded that Pharnabazus would most readily procure him a safe-conduct, and therefore went into Phrygia to him, and continued to dwell there some time, paying him great respect, and being honourably treated by him.

The Athenians in the mean time were much afflicted 38 at their loss of empire; but when they were deprived of liberty also, and Lysander set up thirty despotic rulers in the city, in their ruin now they began to turn ^{The} ^{Thirty} ^{Tyrants.} to those thoughts which, while safety was yet possible, they would not entertain; they acknowledged and bewailed their former errors and follies, and judged this second ill-usage of Alcibiades to be of all the most inexcusable. For he had been rejected, without any fault of his own committing; and merely because they were incensed against his subordinate for having shamefully lost a few ships, they much more shamefully deprived the commonwealth of its most valiant and accomplished general. Yet in this sad state of affairs, they had still some faint hopes left them, nor would they utterly despair of the Athenian commonwealth, while Alcibiades was safe. For they persuaded themselves that if before, when he was an exile, he could not content himself to live idly and at ease, *much less now, if he could find any favourable opportunity, would he endure the insolence of the Lacedæmonians, and the outrages of the Thirty.* Nor was it an absurd thing in the people to entertain such imaginations, when the Thirty themselves were so very solicitous to be informed, and to get

intelligence of all his actions and designs. In fine, Critias* represented to Lysander that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the dominion of Greece, till the Athenian democracy was absolutely destroyed; and though now the people of Athens seemed quietly and patiently to submit to so small a number of governors, yet so long as Alcibiades lived, the knowledge of this fact would never suffer them to acquiesce in their present circumstances. Yet Lysander would not be prevailed upon by these representations, till at last he received secret orders from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, expressly requiring him to get Alcibiades dispatched: whether it was that they also feared his energy and boldness for great enterprises, or that it was done to gratify king Agis.

- 89 Upon receipt of this order Lysander sent away a messenger to Pharnabazus, desiring him to put it in execution. Pharnabazus committed the affair to Magæus his brother and to his uncle Susamithres. Alcibiades resided at that time in a small village in Phrygia, together with Timandra.† As he slept, he had this dream: he thought himself attired in Timandra's habit, and that she, holding him in her arms, dressed his head and painted his face as if he had been a woman: others say, he dreamt that he saw Magæus

* Critias, the chief of the Thirty, is the same, the son of Calliaschrus, *from whose proposal did the edict come* which brought Alcibiades from exile;—remarkable also as having been a pupil of Socrates, and for his moral and political verses, of which a considerable number are extant.

† Melissa, in Phrygia, is the recorded place of the death and burial of Alcibiades. "I myself," says Athenæus, "saw the tomb

cut off his head and burn his body : at any rate, it was but a little while before his death that he had these visions. Those who were sent to assassinate him had not courage enough to enter the house, but surrounded it first, and set it on fire. Alcibiades, as soon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of clothes and furniture, threw them upon the fire to choke it, and, having wrapped his cloak about his left arm, and holding his naked sword in his right, cast himself into the middle of the fire, and escaped securely through it, before the clothes were burnt. The barbarians, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst stay to expect him, or to engage with him, but, standing at a distance, they slew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, they departed, and Timandra took up his dead body, and covering and wrapping it up in the clothes that she found remaining, gave it an honourable and respectful burial. It is said, that the famous Lais, who was called the Corinthian, though she was a native of Hyccara, a small town in Sicily, from whence she was brought a captive, was the daughter of this Timandra. There are some who agree with this account of Alcibiades's death in all points, except that they impute the cause of it neither to Pharnabazus, nor Lysander, nor the Lacedæmonians: but say he was keeping with him a young lady of

of Alcibiades on my way from Synada to Metropolis. A yearly sacrifice of an ox is offered there by the orders of the most excellent Emperor Hadrian, who also erected on the tomb a statue of Alcibiades made of Parian marble." Athenæus lived in the century (about A.D. 200) after Plutarch, who probably died soon after the accession (A.D. 117) of the Emperor Hadrian.

a noble house, whom he had dishonoured, and that her brothers not being able to endure the indignity, set fire by night to the house where he was living, and as he endeavoured to save himself from the flames, slew him with their darts, in the manner just related.



Astragalizontes.

LYSANDER.



Persian Dario.

THE treasure-chamber of the Acanthians at Delphi has 1 this inscription: "The spoils which Brasidas and the Acanthians took from the Athenians." And accordingly many take the marble statue, which stands within the building by the door, to be Brasidas's; but indeed it is Lysander's, an actual likeness*, representing him with his hair at full length, after the old fashion, and with an ample flowing beard. For neither is it true, as some have said, that because the Argives after their great defeat† shaved themselves for sorrow, the Spartans, on the other hand, triumphing in their achievements, allowed their hair to grow; nor did they take a passion for wearing long hair, because the Bacchiadæ, who

* Literally an *iconic* statue; this, from *eikon* or *icon*, a likeness, is the technical term used in Latin as well as Greek for real portraits from the life, as distinguished from ideal representations.

† This was the account given by Herodotus, who is not a favourite with Plutarch. The battle was a famous one, fought some little time before the Persian wars. Argos before her defeats had been the first state in Peloponnesus, and had claimed a sort of pre-eminence in Greece, to which the Spartans after their victory succeeded.

fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, looked mean and unsightly, having their heads all close cut. But this, also, is in fact one of the ordinances of Lycurgus, who, we are told, used to say, that *long hair made good-looking men more beautiful, and ill-looking men more terrible.*

- 2 Lysander's father is said to have been Aristocritus, who was not indeed of the royal family, but of the stock of the Heraclidæ. He was brought up in poverty, and showed himself obedient and conformable, as ever any one did, to the customs of his country; of a manly spirit also, and superior to all pleasures, excepting only that which their good actions bring to those who are honoured and successful; and it is accounted no base thing in Sparta for their young men to be overcome with this kind of pleasure. For they are desirous to have their youth susceptible from the very first to good and bad repute, to feel pain at disgrace and exultation at being commended; and any one who is insensible and unaffected in these respects is thought poor-spirited and of no capacity for virtue. Ambition and the passion for pre-eminence were thus implanted in his character by his Laconian education, nor, if they continued there, must we blame his natural disposition much for this. But he was, in his own character, submissive to great men beyond the Spartan habit, and, to obtain his ends, would easily endure the haughtiness of a superior; which some indeed regard as no small part of political discretion. Aristotle, who says all great characters are more or less atrabilious, as Socrates and Plato and Hercules were, writes, that Lysander, not indeed early in life, but when he was

old, became thus affected.* What is singular in his character is that he bore poverty very well, and was not at all enslaved or corrupted by wealth, and yet he filled his country with riches and the love of them, and took away their glory of not admiring money, importing amongst them an abundance of gold and silver after the Athenian war, though keeping not one drachma for himself. When Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughters some costly gowns of Sicilian manufacture, he would not receive them, saying he was afraid *they would only look the less handsome in them*. But a while after, being sent ambassador to the same tyrant, on receiving a couple of robes, and being told to choose which he would, and carry it to his daughter, "she," said he, "will choose best for herself," and went away with both of them.

Dionysius tyrant at Syracuse, from B.C. 408.

The Peloponnesian war having now been carried on 3 a long time, and it being expected after the disaster of the Athenians in Sicily, that they would at once lose the mastery of the sea, and ere long be routed everywhere, Alcibiades, returning from banishment, and taking the command, produced a great change, and made the Athenians again a match for their opponents by sea. And the Lacedæmonians, in alarm at this, and

Athenian defeat in Sicily B.C. 413. Victories of Alcibiades, B.C. 411-408.

* Aristotle observes that *all remarkable men, whether in philosophy or politics, poetry or the arts, have been atrabilious (melancholic)*. He mentions Hercules, who suffered, before his death on *Ceta*, from an eruption of boils on his skin, a thing often caused by black bile. "Lysander," he adds, "suffered from them before his death. Ajax and Bellerophon, among the heroes, are other instances; and, in later times, Empedocles, Plato, Socrates, and many other famous men. So, too, the great majority of the poets."

Lysander
admiral,
B.C. 407.

calling up fresh courage for the conflict, which they saw required an able commander and a powerful armament, sent out Lysander to be admiral of the seas. Coming to Ephesus, and finding the city well affected towards him and favourable to the Lacedæmonian party, but in ill condition, and in danger to become barbarised by adopting the manners of the Persians, who were much mingled among them, the country of Lydia being all about them, and the king's generals spending much of their time there, he made the place his headquarters, and commanded the merchant ships all about to put in thither, and proceeded to build ships of war there; and thus restored their ports by the traffic he created, and their market by the employment he gave, and filled their private houses and their workshops with wealth. So that from that time first the city began, by Lysander's means, to show a likelihood of growing to that stateliness and grandeur which now it enjoys.

- 4 On hearing that Cyrus the king's son was come to Sardis, he went up to speak with him, and to accuse Tissaphernes, who, receiving a command to help the Lacedæmonians and to drive the Athenians from the sea, was considered on account of Alcibiades to have become remiss and unwilling, and by paying the seamen slenderly to be ruining the fleet. Now Cyrus was willing that Tissaphernes might be found in blame and be ill-reported of, as being indeed a dishonest man, and also privately at feud with himself. By these means, and by their daily intercourse together, Lysander, especially by the submissiveness of his conversation, won the affections of the young prince, and greatly roused him to carry on the war; and when he would

depart, Cyrus gave him a banquet, and desired him not to refuse his good-will, but to speak and ask whatever he had a mind to, and that he should not be refused anything whatsoever: "Since you are so kind," replied Lysander, "I earnestly request you to add one penny to the seaman's pay, that instead of three pence, they may now receive four pence."* Cyrus, delighted with his public spirit, gave him ten thousand darics,



Sardis.

out of which he added the penny to the seamen's pay, and by the renown of this in a short time emptied the ships of the enemy, as many came over to that side which gave the most pay, and those who re-

* The *obolus* may be called the Greek penny, though in actual value it was worth three halfpence; exactly like the Swiss batz. It was the subdivision of the common silver piece, six to the drachma.

mained, being disheartened and mutinous, gave daily trouble to the captains. Yet for all Lysander had so distracted and weakened his enemies, he was afraid to engage by sea, Alcibiades being an energetic commander and having the superior number of ships,—and having been hitherto, in all battles, undefeated both by sea and land.

Battle
of No-
tium.

- 5 But when Alcibiades had sailed from Samos to Phocæa, leaving Antiochus, his pilot, in command of the fleet, this Antiochus, out of vainglory, and to insult Lysander, sailed with two galleys into the port of the Ephesians, and with mocking and laughter proudly rowed along before the place where the ships lay drawn up. Lysander, in indignation, launched at first a few ships only and pursued him; but as soon as he saw the Athenians come to his help, he added some other ships, and at last they fell to a set battle together; and Lysander won the victory, and taking fifteen of their ships, erected a trophy. Upon this the Athenian people at home, being angry, put Alcibiades out of the command, and he finding himself despised by the soldiers in Samos and ill spoken of, sailed away from the army to the Chersonese. And this battle, although not important in itself, was made remarkable by its consequences to Alcibiades. Lysander, meanwhile, inviting to Ephesus such persons in the various towns as he saw to be bolder and haughtier-spirited than their fellow-citizens, proceeded to lay the foundations of that arbitrary government by bodies of ten—and of those revolutions, which afterwards came to pass, stirring up and urging them to unite in clubs, and apply themselves to public affairs, since as soon as ever the Athe-

nians should be put down, the popular governments, he said, should be suppressed, and they should become supreme in their several cities. And he gave them evidence of these things by present deeds, promoting already those who were his friends to great employments, honours, and offices, and, to gratify their cupidity, making himself a partner in acts of injustice and wickedness. So much so, that all flocked to him, and courted and desired him, hoping, if he remained in power, that the highest wishes they could form would all be gratified. And therefore, from the very beginning, they could not look pleasantly upon Callicratidas, when he came to succeed Lysander as admiral; nor afterwards, when he had given them experience that he was the most noble and just of men, were they pleased with the manner of his government, and its straightforward, Dorian, honest character. They did indeed admire his virtue, as they might the beauty of some hero's image; but their wishes were for Lysander's zealous and profitable support of the interests of his friends and partisans, and they shed tears, and were much disheartened when he sailed from them.

Callicratidas succeeds Lysander, B.C. 406.

He himself also helped to make them yet more dis- 6
affected to Callicratidas; and what remained of the money which had been given him by Cyrus to pay the navy, he sent back again to Sardis, saying that Callicratidas if he liked might go and ask for it himself, and take his own course to maintain the soldiers. And at the last, on sailing away, he declared to him that *he delivered up the fleet in full possession of the sea*. But Callicratidas, to expose the emptiness of these high pretensions, said, "In that case, take Samos on the left,

and sail round to Miletus, and there deliver up the ships to me; for if we are masters of the sea, we need not fear sailing by our enemies in Samos."* To which Lysander answering, that *not himself, but he, commanded the ships*, sailed to Peloponnesus, leaving Callicratidas in great perplexity. For neither had he brought any money from home with him, nor could he endure to tax the towns or force them, they being already in hardship enough. Therefore the only course that was to be taken was to go and beg at the doors of the king's commanders, as Lysander had done. For which he was most unfit of any man, being of a generous and great spirit, and one who thought it more becoming for the Greeks to suffer any damage from one another, than to flatter and wait at the gates of barbarians, who indeed had gold enough, but nothing else that was commendable. But being compelled by necessity, he proceeded to Lydia, and went at once to Cyrus's house, and sent in word, that *Callicratidas, the admiral, was there to speak with him*. One of those who kept the gates replied, "Cyrus, O stranger, is not now at leisure, for he is drinking." To which Callicratidas answered, most innocently, "Very well; I will wait here till he has done his draught." This time therefore they took him for some clownish fellow, and he withdrew, merely laughed at by the barbarians; but when afterwards he came a second time to the gate, and was not admitted, he took it hardly, and set off for Ephesus, wishing a great many evils to those who first let themselves be trifled with by these bar-

* *Sail south from Ephesus to Miletus, coasting round Samos, which was between them, and which was the Athenian station.*

barians, and taught them to be insolent because of their riches, and added vows to those who were present, that as soon as ever he came back to Sparta, he would do all he could to reconcile the Greeks, that they might be formidable to the barbarians, and cease henceforth to need their aid against one another.

But Callicratidas, who entertained purposes worthy a 7
Lacedæmonian, and showed himself worthy to compare
with the very best of Greece for his justice, his great-
ness of mind and courage, not long after was beaten in
a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was drowned. And affairs
going back the losing way, the associates in the war
sent an embassy to Sparta, requiring Lysander to be
their admiral, professing themselves ready to undertake
the business much more zealously, if he was com-
mander; and Cyrus also sent to request the same thing.
But because they had a law forbidding any one to be
admiral twice, and wished nevertheless to gratify their
allies, they gave the title of admiral to one Aracus,
and sent Lysander nominally as vice-admiral, but in-
deed with full powers. So he came out, long wished
for by the greatest part of the chief persons and leaders
in the towns, who hoped to grow to greater power still
by his means, when the popular governments should be
everywhere destroyed. But to those who loved honest
and noble behaviour in their commanders, Lysander,
compared with Callicratidas, seemed unscrupulous and
subtle, managing most things in the war by ingenious
deceit, extolling what was just when it was profitable,
and when it was not, making expediency serve in its
place, not judging truth to be in nature better than
falsehood, but setting a value upon both according to

Battle
of Ar-
ginusæ,
B.C. 406.
August.

Return
of Ly-
sander
as Vice-
Admi-
ral.
B.C. 405.

interest. He would laugh at those who thought that Hercules's posterity ought not to use deceit in war : *for where the lion's skin will not reach, you must patch it out with the fox's.**

- 8 Such is the conduct recorded of him in the business about Miletus. For when his friends and connections, whom he had promised to assist in suppressing popular government and expelling their political opponents, altered their minds and made peace with their enemies, he pretended openly as if he was pleased with it and was desirous to further the reconciliation, but privately he upbraided and abused them, and provoked them to set upon the people. And as soon as ever he perceived a new attempt to be commencing, he at once came up and entered into the city, and the first of the conspirators he lit upon, he pretended to rebuke, and spoke roughly, as if he would punish them; but the others, meantime, he bade to *be courageous and fear nothing now he was with them*. And all this acting and dissembling was with the object that the most considerable men of the popular party might not fly away, but might stay in the city and be killed; which so fell out, for all who believed him were put to death. There is a saying also recorded by Androclides, which makes him guilty of great indifference to the obligation of an oath. His recommendation, according to this account, was to *cheat boys with dice, and men with oaths*, an imitation of Polycrates of Samos†, not very honourable to a lawful

* The *lion's skin* was worn by Hercules, and Lysander, according to Plutarch (see Chapter 2), was one of *Hercules's posterity*.

† Polycrates, a little before the Persian wars, was tyrant of Samos, the most powerful of the early tyrants, and famous for his perfidy. Some similar dictum seems to have been ascribed to him.

commander, to take example, namely, from a tyrant, nor in character with Laconian usages, to treat gods as ill as enemies, or, indeed, even more injuriously; since he who overreaches by an oath admits that he fears his enemy, while he despises his god.

Cyrus now sent for Lysander to Sardis, and gave him 9 some money, and promised him more, youthfully protesting he had such a desire to please him, that if his father gave him nothing, he would supply him of his own; and if he himself should be destitute of all, *he would cut up, he said, to make money, the very throne upon which he sat to do justice*, it being made of gold and silver. And at last, on going up into Media to his father, he ordered that Lysander should receive the tribute of the towns, and committed his government to him, and so taking his leave, and desiring him not to fight by sea before he returned, for he would come back with a great many ships out of Phœnicia and Cilicia, he departed to visit the king. Lysander's ships were too few for him to venture to fight, and yet too many to allow of his remaining idle; he set out therefore and reduced some of the islands, and wasted Ægina and Salamis; and from thence landing in Attica, and saluting Agis, who came from Decelea to meet him, he made a display to the land forces of the strength of the fleet, as though he could sail where he pleased, and were absolute master by sea. But hearing the Athenians pursued him, he fled another way through the islands into Asia. And finding the Hellespont undefended, he attacked Lampsacus with his ships by sea, while Thorax, acting in concert with him with the land army, made an assault on the walls; and so having

Capture
of
Lamp-
sacus.

taken the city by storm, he gave it up to his soldiers to plunder. The fleet of the Athenians, a hundred and eighty ships, had just arrived at Elæus in the Chersonese; and hearing the news, that Lampsacus was destroyed, they immediately sailed to Sestos; where taking in victuals, they advanced to Ægos-potami, just opposite their enemies, who were still stationed about Lampsacus. Amongst other Athenian captains who were now in command was Philocles, he who persuaded the people to pass a decree to cut off the right thumb of the captives in the war, that they should not be able to hold the spear, though they might the oar.

- 10 Then they all rested themselves, hoping they should have battle the next morning. But Lysander had other things in his head; he bid the mariners and pilots to go on board at dawn, as if there should be a battle as soon as it was day, and sit there in order and silence, expecting their orders, and in like manner that the land army should remain quietly in their ranks by the sea. But the sun rising, and the Athenians sailing up with their whole fleet in line and challenging them to battle, he, though he had had his ships all drawn up and manned before daybreak, nevertheless did not stir. He merely sent some small boats to those who lay foremost, and bade them keep still and stay in their order; not to be disturbed, and none of them to sail out and offer battle. So about evening when the Athenians sailed back, he would not let the seamen go out of the ships before two or three, which he had sent to espy, were returned, after seeing the enemies disembark. And thus they did the next day, and the third, and so to the fourth. So that the Athenians grew ex-

tremely confident, and disdained their enemies, as if they had been afraid and daunted. At this time, Alcibiades, who was in his castle in the Chersonese, came on horseback to the Athenian army, and found fault with their generals, first of all that they had pitched their camp neither well nor safely, on an exposed and open beach, a very bad landing for the ships, and, secondly, that where they were, they had to fetch all they wanted from Sestos, some considerable way off, whereas if they sailed round a little way to the town and harbour of Sestos, they would be at a safer distance from an enemy, who lay watching their movements, at the command of a single general, terror of whom made every order rapidly executed. This advice they would not listen to; and Tydeus answered disdainfully, that *not he, but others were in office now.*

So Alcibiades, who even suspected there must be treachery, departed. But on the fifth day, the Athenians having sailed up to them and gone back again as they were used to do, very proudly and full of contempt, Lysander sending some ships, as usual, to look out, commanded the masters of them that when they saw the Athenians go to land, they should row back again with all their speed, and that when they were about half-way across, they should lift up a brazen shield from the fore deck, as the sign of battle. And he himself, sailing round, encouraged the pilots and masters of the ships, and exhorted them to keep all their men to their places, seamen and soldiers alike, and as soon as ever the sign should be given, to row up boldly with all their might to their enemies. Accordingly when the shield had been lifted up from

11
Battle
of Ægos-
potami,
B.C. 405.

the ships, and the trumpet from the admiral's vessel. had sounded for battle, the ships rowed up, and the foot-soldiers strove to get along by the shore to the promontory. The distance there between the two continents is fifteen furlongs, which by the zeal and eagerness of the rowers was quickly traversed. Conon, one of the Athenian commanders, was the first who saw from the land the fleet advancing, and shouted out to embark, and in the greatest distress bade some, and entreated others, and some he forced, to man the ships. But all his diligence signified nothing, because the men were scattered about; for as soon as they came out of the ships, expecting no such matter, some went to market, others walked about the country, or went to sleep in their tents, or got their dinners ready, being, through their commanders' want of skill, as far as possible from any thought of what was to happen. And the enemy now coming up with shouts and noise, Conon with eight ships sailed out, and making his escape, passed from thence to Cyprus, to Evagoras. The Peloponnesians falling upon the rest, some they took quite empty, and some they destroyed while they were filling; the men, meantime, coming unarmed and scattered to help, died at their ships, or, flying by land, were slain, their enemies disembarking and pursuing them. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, with the generals, as well as the fleet, except the sacred ship *Paralus* and those which fled with Conon. So taking the ships in tow, and having plundered the camp, with pipe and songs of victory he sailed back to Lampsacus, having accomplished a great work with small pains, and having finished in one hour a war, which had been

protracted in its continuance, and diversified in its incidents and its fortunes to a degree exceeding belief, compared with all before it. After altering its shape and character a thousand times, and after having been the destruction of more commanders than all the previous wars of Greece put together, it was now put an end to by the good counsel and skilful conduct of one man. So that indeed some people looked upon the result as a divine intervention.

And there were some who declared that the stars of 12 Castor and Pollux were seen on each side of Lysander's ship, when he first set sail from the harbour towards his enemies, shining about the helm; and some say the stone which fell was a sign of this calamity. For a stone of a great size did, according to the common belief, fall from the sky at Ægos-potami, which is shown to this day, and had in great esteem by the Chersonites. It is said that Anaxagoras announced, that the occurrence of a slip or shake among the bodies fixed in the heavens, dislodging any one of them, would be followed by the fall of the whole of them. For no one of the stars, he said, is now in the same place in which it was at first; for they, being, according to him, like stones and heavy, shine by the refraction of the upper air round about them, and are carried along forcibly by the violence of the circular motion by which they were originally withheld from falling, when cold and heavy bodies were first separated from the general universe. But there is a more probable opinion than this, maintained by some, who say that falling stars are no efflux or outbreak of an ethereal fire extinguished by the lower air almost at the instant of its igniting; neither are they

the sudden combustion and blazing up of a quantity of the lower air let loose in great abundance into the upper region; but that the heavenly bodies by a relaxation of the force of their circular movement are carried by an irregular course, not in general into the inhabited part of the earth, but for the most part into the wide sea; which is the cause of their not being observed. Daimachus in his treatise on Religion supports the view of Anaxagoras. He says, that before this stone fell, for seventy-five days continually there was seen in the heavens a vast fiery body, as if it had been a flaming cloud, not remaining still, but making a variety of intricate and broken movements, so that the fiery pieces, which were broken off by this commotion and disturbance, were carried in all directions, shining as falling stars do. But when it afterwards came down to the ground in this district, and the people of the place recovering from their fear and astonishment came together, there was no fire to be seen, neither any sign of it; there was only a stone lying, big indeed, but which bore no proportion, to speak of, to that fiery compass. It is manifest that Daimachus needs to have indulgent hearers; but if what he says be true, he altogether proves those to be wrong who say that a rock broken off from the top of some mountain by winds and tempests and caught and whirled about like a top, as soon as this impetus began to slacken and cease, was precipitated and fell to the ground. Unless indeed we go so far as to say that the phenomenon which was observed for so many days was really fire, and that the change in the atmosphere ensuing on its extinction was attended with violent winds and agitations, which

might be the cause of this stone being carried off. The exacter treatment of this subject belongs however to a different kind of writing.

Lysander, after the three thousand Athenians whom ¹³ he had taken prisoners were condemned by the commissioners to die, called Philocles the general, and asked him *what punishment he considered himself to deserve for having advised the citizens as he had done against the Greeks.* But he, nothing cast down at his calamity, bade him *not accuse him of matters of which nobody was a judge, but do to him, now he was a conqueror, as he would have suffered, had he been overcome.* Then washing himself, and putting on a fine cloak, he led the citizens the way to the slaughter, as Theophrastus writes. After this, Lysander sailing about the various cities bade all the Athenians he met go into Athens, declaring that he would spare none, but kill every man whom he found out of the city, intending thus to cause immediate famine and scarcity there, that they might not make the siege laborious to him, having provisions sufficient to endure it. And suppressing the popular governments and all other constitutions, he left one Lacedæmonian chief officer* in every city, with ten rulers to act with him selected out of the societies which he had previously made up in the different towns. And doing thus as well in the cities of his enemies, as of his allies, he sailed leisurely on, establishing, in a manner, for himself supremacy over the whole of Greece. Neither did he select his rulers by any principle of birth

* *Harmost* or *Harmostes* is the name of the Spartan officer; *dekarchy* or *dekadarchy* that of the committee, or junta, or oligarchical council, of ten.

or wealth, but simply bestowed the offices on his own friends and partisans, doing everything to please them, and putting absolute power of reward and punishment into their hands. And personally appearing on many occasions of bloodshed and massacre, and aiding his friends to expel their opponents, he did not give the Greeks a favourable specimen of the Lacedæmonian government; and the expression of Theopompus the comic poet* seems but poor, when he compares the Lacedæmonians to tavern women, because *giving the Greeks a single first taste of the delicious wine of liberty, they then poured vinegar into the cup*; for from the very first it was a rough and bitter taste, all government by the people being suppressed by Lysander, and the boldest and least scrupulous of the oligarchical party set up to rule the cities.

- 14 Having spent some little time in this manner, and
 Siege and surren- having sent before to Lacedæmon to tell them he was
 der of on his way with two hundred ships, he united his forces
 Athens, on the coast of Attica with those of the two kings Agis
 B.C. 404. and Pausanias, hoping to take the city without delay.
 But when the Athenians defended themselves, he with
 his fleet passed again to Asia, and in like manner de-
 stroyed the forms of government in all the other cities,
 and set up his arbitrary bodies of ten persons, many in
 every one being murdered and many driven into exile;
 and in Samos he expelled the whole people, and gave
 their towns to the exiles whom he brought back. And
 the Athenians still possessing Sestos, he took it from

* Plutarch in the manuscripts says "the comic poet Theopompus;" but it is given elsewhere, by a late writer, in a passage of some length, professing to be a quotation from Theopompus the historian.

them, and suffered not the Sestians themselves to dwell in it, but gave the city and country to be divided out among the pilots and boatswains of the ships under him; which was his first act that was disallowed by the Lacedæmonians, who brought the Sestians back again into their country. All Greece however rejoiced to see the Æginetans by Lysander's aid now again, after a long time, brought back to their homes, and the Melians and Scionæans restored, while the Athenians were driven out and delivered the cities up. But when he now understood they were in a bad case in the city because of the famine, he sailed to Piræus, and reduced the city, which was compelled to surrender on what conditions he demanded. One hears it said by Lacedæmonians that Lysander wrote to the Ephors thus: "Athens is taken;" and that these magistrates wrote back to Lysander, "Taken is enough." But this saying was invented for its neatness' sake; for the true decree of the magistrates was as follows: "The government of the Lacedæmonians has made these orders; pull down Piræus* and the Long Walls; quit all the towns, and keep to your own land; if you do these things, you shall have peace, if you wish it, restoring also your exiles. As concerning the number of the ships, whatsoever be there judged necessary to appoint, that do." This scroll of conditions the Athenians accepted, Theramenes son of Hagnon supporting it. At which time too they say that when Cleomenes, one of the young orators, asked him how he durst act

* Piræus, meaning the walls of Piræus, famous for their size and solidity, and the Long Walls the connecting walls between it and the city.

and speak contrary to Themistocles, delivering up the walls to the Lacedæmonians, which he had built against the will of the Lacedæmonians, he said, "O young man, I do nothing contrary to Themistocles; for he raised these walls for the safety of the citizens, and we pull them down for their safety; and if walls made a city happy, then Sparta should be the most wretched of all, as it has none."

- 15 Lysander, having received all the ships except twelve, and having taken possession of the walls of the Athenians on the sixteenth day of the month Munychion, the same on which they had overcome the barbarians at Salamis*, then proceeded to bring in measures for altering the government. And when the Athenians showed a disposition to resist and called out against it, he sent to the people and informed them, that he found that the city had broken the terms, for the walls had been still standing after the days were past within which they should have been pulled down; he should therefore consider their case anew, they having broken their first articles. And some state that in fact the proposal was made in the congress of the allies, that the Athenians should all be sold as slaves; on which occasion Erianthus the Theban† gave his vote to *pull down the city and turn the country into sheep-pasture*. Yet afterwards, when there was a meeting of the generals,

* This, as regards the battle of Salamis, is certainly incorrect, and inconsistent with Plutarch's own statement elsewhere. Munychion is March; Salamis was fought in Boëdromion, September, at the time of the celebration of the Mysteries.

† One of the commanders in the fleet at the battle of Ægæo-Potami. See below, p. 202, note.

and a man of Phocis while they sat at wine, sang the first chorus in Euripides's *Electra*,

*Electra, Agamemnon's child, I come
Unto thy desert home,*

they were all melted with compassion, and it seemed to be a cruel deed to destroy and pull down a city which had been so famous, and produced such men. Accordingly Lysander, the Athenians yielding up everything, sent for a number of flute-women out of the city, and collected all those that were in the camp, and pulled down the walls and burnt the ships to the sound of the flute, the allies being crowned with garlands and making merry together, as counting that day the beginning of their liberty. He proceeded also at once to alter the government, placing thirty rulers in the city and ten in the Piræus: he put also a garrison into the Acropolis, and made Callibius a Spartan the governor of it; who afterwards taking up his staff to strike Autolycus the athlete, about whom Xenophon wrote his Banquet*, when Autolycus took him by the legs and threw him to the ground, Lysander was not vexed at it, but chid Callibius, telling him he *did not know how to govern freemen*. The thirty rulers, however, to gain Callibius's favour, a little after killed Autolycus.

Government of
the
Thirty.

Lysander after this sails out to Thrace, and what remained of the public money, and the gifts and crowns which he had himself received (numbers of people, as might be expected, being anxious to make presents to

* The Banquet, or Symposium, in Xenophon's fiction is given by Callias the son of Hipponicus in honour of the victory won by Autolycus, still at that time a boy, in the *pancratium*, at the games of the Panathenæa.

a man of such great power, who was in a manner the lord of Greece), he sends to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had commanded formerly in Sicily. But he, it is reported, opened the seams of the sacks at the bottom, took a considerable amount of money out of every one of them, and sewed them up again, not knowing there was a writing in every one stating how much there was. And coming to Sparta, what he had thus stolen away he hid under the tiles of his house, and delivered up the sacks to the Ephors, and showed the seals were upon them. But afterwards, on their opening the sacks and counting it, the quantities differed from what the writings stated; and the Ephors being in perplexity, Gylippus's servant tells them in a riddle, that *under the tiles lay many owls**; for it seems the greatest part of the money then current bore the Athenian stamp of the owl.



Attic drachma. From the British Museum. Size of the original: silver; value nearly 9½d.

- 17 Gylippus, having committed so foul and base a deed, after such great and distinguished exploits before, removed himself from Lacedæmon. But the wisest of the Spartans, very much on account of this occurrence, dreading the influence of money, as being what had

* Or perhaps even more obscurely, *many owls roosted in Ceramicus*; the well-known Athenian suburb being *Ceramicus*, and *céramus* the Greek for tiling.

corrupted some of the greatest citizens, exclaimed against Lysander's conduct, and protested to the Ephors, that all the silver and gold should be sent away, as mere "alien mischiefs." These consulted about it; and Theopompus says it was Sciraphidas, but Ephorus that it was Phlogidas, who declared they ought not to receive any gold or silver money into the city; but to use their own country coin, which was iron, and was first of all dipped in vinegar when it was red hot, that it might not be worked up anew, but because of the dipping might be hard and unpliant. It was also of course very heavy and troublesome to carry, and a great deal of it in quantity and weight was but a little in value. And perhaps all the old money was so, coin consisting of iron, or in some countries, copper *skewers*, whence it comes that we still find a great number of small pieces of money retain the name of *obolus**, and the *drachma* is six of these, because so much may be *grasped* in one's hand. But Lysander's friends being against it and endeavouring to keep the money in the city, it was resolved to bring in this sort of money to be used publicly, enacting at the same time, that if any one was found in possession of any privately, he should be put to death, as if Lycurgus had feared the coin and not the covetousness resulting from it, which they did not repress by letting no private man keep any, so much as

* *Obelus*, a small spit or skewer, is probably the same word with *obolus*, the Greek penny: *drachma*, the six-obol piece, a handful, comes from *drassomai*, to grasp in the hand; thus in Homer, *dragma*, of the stalks of corn in the reaper's hands: "As when reapers, facing each other, cut a swathe in a rich man's field of wheat or of barley, and the *handfuls* fall thickly;" and again of the gleaners, in the shield of Achilles.

they encouraged it by allowing the state to possess it; attaching thereby a sort of dignity to it over and above its ordinary utility. Neither was it possible, that what they saw was so much esteemed publicly, they should privately despise as unprofitable; and that every one should think that a thing could be worth nothing for his personal use, which was so extremely valued and desired for the use of the state. And moral habits, induced by public practices, are far quicker in making their way into men's private lives, than the failings and slips of individuals are in infecting the city at large. For it is probable that the parts will be rather corrupted by the whole if that grows bad; while the vices which flow from a part into the whole, find many correctives and remedies from these which remain sound. Terror and the law were now to keep guard over the citizens' houses, to prevent any money entering into them; but their minds could no longer be expected to remain superior to the desire of it, when wealth in general was thus set up to be striven after, as a high and noble object. On this point, however, we have given our censure of the Lacedæmonians in one of our other writings.

- 18 Lysander erected out of the spoils brazen statues at Delphi of himself and of every one of the captains of the fleet*, as also figures of the golden stars of Castor

* Pausanias gives a long list of their names, as he saw them in the temple; among them was Erianthus, the Boeotian, mentioned above in Chap. 15. The figures were placed behind that of Lysander, who was represented as receiving a crown from Neptune. There were also figures of Hermon, who steered his ship, and of Abas his diviner.

and Pollux, which were lost before the battle at Leuctra. In the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians there was a trireme, made of gold and ivory, of two cubits, which Cyrus sent Lysander in honour of his victory. But Anaxandrides of Delphi writes that there was also a deposit of Lysander's, a talent of silver and fifty-two minas, besides eleven staters; a statement not consistent with the generally received account of his poverty. And at that time Lysander, being in fact of greater power than any Greek before, was yet thought to show a pride and to affect a superiority greater even than his power warranted. He was, as Duris relates, the first among the Greeks, to whom the cities reared altars as to a god, and sacrificed; to him were songs of triumph first sung, the beginning of one of which still remains recorded:—

*Great Greece's general, from spacious Sparta we
Will celebrate with songs of victory.*

And the Samians decreed that their solemnities of Juno should be called the Lysandria. And out of the poets he had Chœrilus always with him, to extol his achievements in verse; and to Antilochus, who had made some verses of no great merit, in his commendation, being pleased with them, he gave a hat full of silver. And when Antimachus of Colophon and one Niceratus of Heraclea competed with each other in a poem on the deeds of Lysander, he, acting as judge, gave the garland to Niceratus; at which Antimachus in vexation destroyed his poem; but Plato, being then a young man, and admiring Antimachus for his poetry, consoled him

for his defeat by telling him that *it is the ignorant who are the sufferers by ignorance, as truly as the blind by want of sight*. And when Aristonus the musician, who had been a conqueror six times at the Pythian games, told him as a piece of flattery, that if he were successful again, he would proclaim himself in the name of Lysander; "that is," he answered, "as his slave."

- 19 This ambitious temper was indeed only burdensome to the highest personages and to his equals; but through having so many people devoted to serve him, an extreme haughtiness and contemptuousness grew up, together with ambition, in his character. He observed none of moderation befitting a private man, in rewarding or in punishing; the recompense of his friends and associates was absolute power over cities and the irresponsible authority of tyrants, and the only satisfaction of his wrath was the death of his enemy; banishment would not do. As for example, at a later period, fearing lest the popular leaders of the Milesians* should fly, and desiring also to discover those who lay hid, he swore he would do them no harm, and on their believing him and coming forth, he delivered them up to the oligarchical leaders to be slain, being in all no less than eight hundred. And indeed the slaughter in general of those of the popular party in the towns exceeded all computation; as he did not kill only for offences against

* For *Milesians* read, perhaps, *Thasians*. It is not likely that Plutarch is repeating here, in a different form, the fact which he narrated, probably in the proper place as regards time, before the battle of Ægos-potami, in Chap. 8; and a similar account to this is given elsewhere, as what happened, after Ægos-potami, at Thasos.

himself, but granted these favours without sparing, and joined in the execution of them, to gratify the many hatreds, and the much cupidity of his friends in all the various cities. From whence the saying of Eteocles the Lacedæmonian came to be famous, that *Greece could not have borne two Lysanders*. Theophrastus says, that Archestratus said the same of Alcibiades. But in his case what had given most offence was a certain licentious and wanton self-will; Lysander was made an object of fear and terror by his unmerciful disposition. The Lacedæmonians did not much concern themselves for any other accusers; but when Pharnabazus, whose country he had pillaged and wasted, sent some to Sparta to inform against him, the Ephors took the matter up, and put one of his friends and fellow-captains, Thorax, to death, finding some silver privately in his possession; and sent Lysander a scroll, commanding him to return home. The scroll is made up thus: when the Ephors sent out an admiral or general on his command, they take two round pieces of wood, both exactly of a length and thickness and cut even to one another; they keep one themselves, and the other they give to the person they send forth; and these pieces of wood they call *scytalas*. When therefore they have occasion to communicate any secret or important matter, making a scroll of parchment long and narrow like a leathern thong, they wind it about their own wooden roller, leaving no space void between, but covering the surface of the staff with the scroll all over. When they have done this, they write what they please on the scroll, as it is wrapped about the staff; and when they have written, they take off the scroll, and send it to the

general without the wood. He, when he has received it, can read nothing of the writing, because the words and letters are not connected, but all broken up; but taking his own staff, he winds the slip of the scroll about it, so that this folding, restoring all the parts into the same order that they were in before, and putting what comes first into connection with what follows, brings the whole consecutive contents to view round the outside. And this scroll is called a *staff*, after the name of the wood, as a thing measured is by the name of the measure.

- 20 But Lysander, when the staff came to him to the Hellespont, was troubled, and fearing Pharnabazus's accusations most, made haste to confer with him, hoping to end the difference by a meeting. When they met, he desired him to write another letter to the magistrates, stating that he had not been wronged and had no complaint to prefer. But he was ignorant that Pharnabazus, as the proverb says, played *Cretan against Cretan**; for pretending to do all that was desired, openly he wrote such a letter as Lysander wanted, but kept by him another, written privately, and when they came to put on the seals, changed the tablets, which differed not at all to look upon, and gave him the letter which had been written privately. Lysander accordingly, coming to Lacedæmon, and going, as the custom is, to the magistrates' office, gave Pharnabazus's letter to the Ephors, being persuaded that the greatest accusation against him was now withdrawn; for Pharna-

* Or "cheat against cheat," the Cretans being famous for their mendacity; "the Cretans are always liars."

bazus was beloved by the Lacedæmonians, having been in the war the most zealous on their side of all the king's generals. But after the magistrates had read the letter they showed it him, and he understanding now that

*Others beside Ulysses deep can be,
Not the one wise man of the world is he,*

left them at the time in extreme confusion. But a few days after, meeting the Ephors, he said he must go to the temple of Ammon, and offer the god the sacrifices which he had vowed in the war. For some state it as a truth, that when he was besieging the town of Aphytæ in Thrace, Ammon stood by him in his sleep; whereupon raising the siege, supposing the god had commanded it, he bade the Aphytæans sacrifice to Ammon, and resolved to make a journey into Libya to propitiate the god. But most were of opinion that the god was but the pretence, and that in reality he was afraid of the Ephors, and that impatience of the yoke at home, and dislike of living under authority, made him long for some travel and wandering, like a horse just brought in from open feeding and pasture to the stable, and put again to his ordinary work. For what Ephorus states to have been the cause of this travelling about I shall relate by and by.

And having hardly and with difficulty obtained leave 21 of the magistrates to depart, he set sail. But the kings, while he was on his voyage, considering that keeping, as he did, the cities in possession by his own friends and partisans, he was in fact their sovereign and the lord of Greece, took measures for restoring the power

to the people and for throwing his friends out.* A new movement now commencing in this direction, and, first of all, the Athenians from Phyle setting upon their Thirty rulers and overpowering them, Lysander, coming



Phyle, on the confines of Boeotia.

Expul-
sion of
the
Thirty
Tyrants
B.C. 403.

home in haste, persuaded the Lacedæmonians to support the oligarchies and to put down the popular governments; and to the Thirty in Athens, first of all, they sent a hundred talents for the war, and Lysander himself, as general, to assist them. But the kings, envying him and fearing lest he should take Athens again, re-

* This, however, was pretty certainly before the recall of Lysander by the *scytala*. The kings may have taken measures of the same kind also afterwards when he was away on his voyage. But the movement at Athens took place very early; the Thirty were only in power for a few months, and were ex-

solved that one of themselves should take the command. Accordingly Pausanias went, and in words indeed professed as if he had been for the tyrants against the people, but in reality exerted himself for peace, that Lysander might not, by means of his friends, become lord of Athens again. This he brought easily to pass; and reconciling the Athenians and quieting the tumults, he defeated the ambitious hopes of Lysander. Though shortly after, on the Athenians renouncing the Spartan supremacy, he was censured for having thus taken, as it were, the bit out of the mouth of the people, which, being freed from the oligarchy, could now break out again into affronts and insolence; and Lysander regained the reputation of a person who employed his command not in gratification of others, nor for vain show, but strictly for the good of Sparta.

His speech also was high and daunting to such as 22 opposed him. The Argives, for example, contended about the bounds of their land, and thought they brought juster pleas than the Lacedæmonians; holding out his sword, "He," said Lysander, "that is master of this, brings the best argument about the bounds of territory." A man of Megara at some conference taking freedom with him, "This language, my friend," said he, "is that of a city."* To the Bœotians, who were acting

pelled before midsummer, 403 B.C., the beginning of the archonship of Euclides. Lysander, after failing in his endeavours to maintain them, appears to have gone to Asia again; was recalled; and then went to Ammon; returning some time before the death of Agis, B.C. 399.

* Literally, "Your words require a city," are those of a man representing a place of political importance; "You speak as if any one cared about Megara's opinion."

Death
of Agis,
B.C. 399.

a doubtful part, he put the question, *whether he should pass through their country with spears upright, or levelled.* After the revolt of the Corinthians, when, on coming to their walls, he perceived the Lacedæmonians hesitating to make the assault, and a hare was seen to leap through the ditch: "Are you not ashamed," he said, "to fear an enemy, for whose laziness the very hares sleep upon their walls?" But when king Agis died, leaving a brother, Agesilaus, and a son, so reputed, Leotychides, Lysander, being attached to Agesilaus, persuaded him to lay claim to the kingdom, as being a true descendant of Hercules; Leotychides lying under the suspicion of being the son of Alcibiades, who had lived privately in familiarity with Timæa, the wife of Agis, when he was an exile in Sparta. Agis, they say, computing the time, satisfied himself that she could not have conceived by him, and had hitherto always neglected and manifestly disowned Leotychides. But now when he was carried sick to Heræa, being ready to die, what with the importunities of the young man himself, and with those of his friends, in the presence of several persons he declared Leotychides to be his; and desiring those who were present to bear witness of this to the Lacedæmonians, died. They accordingly did so testify in favour of Leotychides. And Agesilaus, being in general highly regarded, and strong in the support of Lysander, was on the other hand prejudiced by Diopithes, a man famous for his knowledge of oracles, who adduced this prophecy in reference to Agesilaus's lameness:—

*Beware, great Sparta, lest there come of thee,
Though whole thyself, an halting sovereignty;
Troubles, both long and unexpected too,
With waves of deadly warfare shall ensue.*

When many therefore yielded to the oracle and inclined to Leotychides, Lysander said that Diopithes did not take the prophecy rightly; for it was not that the god would be offended if any lame person ruled over the Lacedæmonians, but that *the kingdom would be a lame one, if bastards and false-born should govern with the posterity of Hercules*. By this argument, and by his great influence among them, he prevailed, and Agesilaus was made king.

Immediately, therefore, Lysander spurred him on to ²³ make an expedition into Asia, putting him in hopes that he might destroy the Persians and attain the height of greatness. And he wrote to his friends in Asia, bidding them request to have Agesilaus appointed to command them in the war against the barbarians; which directions they obeyed, and sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon to entreat it. And this would seem to be a second favour done Agesilaus by Lysander, not inferior to his first in obtaining him the kingdom. But with ambitious natures, which otherwise are not ill-qualified for command, the feeling of jealousy of those near them in reputation sadly stands in the way of the performance of noble actions; they make those their rivals in virtue, whom they ought to use as their helpers to it. Agesilaus took Lysander among the thirty counsellors that accompanied him, with intentions of using him as his especial friend. But when they were come into Asia, the people there, to whom he was but little known, addressed themselves to him briefly and seldom; whereas Lysander, because of their frequent previous intercourse, was visited and attended by large numbers, by his friends out of observance and

Agesilaus
sent to
Asia,
B.C. 396.

by others out of fear. And just as in tragedies it not uncommonly is the case with actors, the person who represents a messenger or servant is much noticed, and plays the chief part, while he who wears the crown and sceptre is hardly heard to speak, even so it was with the counsellor here; he had all the real honours of the government, and to the king was left the empty name of power. This disproportionate ambition ought very likely to have been in some way softened down, and Lysander should have been reduced to his proper second place. But wholly to cast off and to insult and affront for glory's sake one who was his benefactor and friend, was not an action in which Agesilaus should have allowed himself. First of all, he gave him no opportunity for any action, and never put him in any place of command; then, for whomsoever he perceived him exerting his interest, these persons he always sent away with a refusal, and with less attention than any ordinary suitors, thus silently undoing and weakening his influence. So Lysander, miscarrying in everything and perceiving that his diligence for his friends was but a hindrance to them, forbore to help them, entreating them that they would not address themselves nor make their suit to him, but speak to the king and to those who could be of more service to friends than at present he could. Most, on hearing this, forbore to trouble him about their concerns; but continued their attentions to him, waiting upon him in the walks and places of exercise; at which Agesilaus was more annoyed than ever, envying him the honour; so that, finally, when he gave the rest who were serving under him, places of command and the governments of cities,

he appointed Lysander carver at his table, adding by way of insult to the Ionians, "Let them go now, and pay their court to my carver." Upon this Lysander thought fit to come and speak with him; and a brief laconic dialogue passed between them as follows: "Truly you know well, Agesilaus, how to humble your friends." "Those friends," replied he, "who would be greater than myself; but those who increase my power, it is just should share in it." "Possibly, Agesilaus," answered Lysander, "in all this there may be more said on your part than done on mine. I only beg you, for the sake of observers from without, to place me in any command under you, where you may judge I shall be the least offensive to you and the most useful."

Upon this he was sent as lieutenant to the Hellespont; 24 and though angry with Agesilaus, did not neglect his duty, and having induced Spithridates the Persian, who had quarrelled with Pharnabazus, and was a gallant man and in command of some forces, to revolt, he brought him to Agesilaus. He was not however employed in any other service, but having completed his time returned to Sparta without honour, angry with Agesilaus and hating more than ever the whole Spartan government, and resolved to delay no longer, but while there was yet time, to put into execution the plan which he appears some time before to have concerted*, for a revolution and change in the constitution.

* Perhaps, when both the kings were hostile to him, and were *taking measures against him* (Chap. 21), before the death of Agis and accession of his friend Agesilaus, whose friendship now failed him.

These were as follows. The Heraclidæ who joined with the Dorians and came into Peloponnesus, became a numerous and glorious race in Sparta, but not every family belonging to it had the right of succession in the kingdom, but the kings were chosen out of two families only, called the Eurypontidæ and the Agiadæ; the rest had no privilege in the government on account of their nobility of birth, and the honours which followed from merit lay open to all who could obtain them. Lysander, who was born of one of these families, when he had risen into great renown for his exploits, and had gained great friends and power, was vexed to see the city which increased to what it was by him, ruled by others not at all better descended than himself, and so formed a design to remove the government from the two families and to give it in common to all the Heraclidæ; or, as some say, not to the Heraclidæ only, but to all the Spartans; that the reward might not belong to the posterity of Hercules, but to those who were like Hercules, namely, in respect of that personal merit which raised even him to the honour of the godhead; and he hoped that when the king's place was thus to be competed for, no Spartan would be chosen before himself.

- 25 Accordingly he first attempted and prepared to persuade the citizens privately, and studied an oration composed to this purport by Cleon the Halicarnassian. Afterwards perceiving so unexpected and great an innovation required bolder means of support, he proceeded, as it might be on the stage, to avail himself of machinery*, and to try the effects of divine agency

* Machinery, that is, in the sense of supernatural intervention, derived from the actual machines by which actors personating

upon his countrymen. He collected and arranged for his purpose answers and oracles from Apollo, not expecting to get any benefit from Cleon's rhetoric, unless he should first alarm and subdue the minds of his fellow-citizens by religious and superstitious terrors, before bringing them to the consideration of his arguments. Ephorus relates, after he had endeavoured to corrupt the oracle of Delphi, and had failed to win the priestesses of Dodona by means of Pherecles, that he went to Ammon, and discoursed with the guardians of the oracle there, proffering them a great sum of gold, and that they, taking this ill, sent some to Sparta to accuse Lysander; and on his acquittal the Libyans, going away, said, "You will find us, O Spartans, better judges, when you come to dwell with us in Lybia," there being a certain ancient oracle, that the Lacedæmonians should dwell in Libya. But as the whole plot and process of the intrigue was no ordinary one, nor reared upon any slight basis, but depended as it went on, like some mathematical proposition, on a variety of important admissions, and proceeded through a series of intricate and difficult steps to its conclusion, we will go further into it, following the account of one who was at once an historian and a philosopher.*

There was a woman in Pontus, who professed to be 26

gods were introduced on, or rather above, the stage. Lysander, finding ordinary agencies insufficient, resolves to introduce a *deus ex machina* for the solution of the difficulty of his position.

* Ephorus, whose work in thirty books was the standard Greek history for the times preceding 341 B.C., was brought up as a rhetorician under Isocrates, and in the general Greek sense of the name would be called a philosopher.

pregnant by Apollo, which many, as was natural, disbelieved, and many also gave credit to, and when she had brought forth a man-child, several not unimportant persons took an interest in its rearing and bringing up. The name given the boy was Silenus, for some reason or other. Lysander, taking this for the groundwork, frames and devises the rest himself, making use of not a few, nor these insignificant, champions of his story, who brought the report of the child's birth into credit without any suspicion. Another report also was procured from Delphi and circulated in Sparta, that there were some very old oracles which were kept by the priests in private writings; and they were *not to be meddled with, neither was it lawful to read them, till one in after times should come, born of Apollo*, and on giving some known token of his parentage to the keepers, should take the books in which the oracles were. Things being thus ordered beforehand, Silenus, it was intended, should come and ask for the oracles, as being the child of Apollo, and those priests who were privy to the design, were to profess to search narrowly into all particulars, and to question him concerning his birth; and finally were to be convinced, and, as to Apollo's son, to deliver up to him the writings. Then he in the presence of many witnesses should read, amongst other prophecies, that, which was the object of the whole contrivance, relating to the office of the kings, that *it would be better and more desirable for the Spartans to choose their kings out of the best citizens*. And now Silenus being grown up to a youth and being ready for the action, Lysander miscarried in his drama

through the timidity of one of his actors, or assistants, who just as he came to the point lost courage and declined to play his part. Yet nothing was found out while Lysander lived, but only after his death.

He died before Agesilaus came back from Asia, 27 being involved, or perhaps more truly having himself involved Greece, in the Boeotian war.* For it is stated both ways; and the cause of it some make to be himself, others the Thebans, and some both together; the Thebans on the one hand being charged with the blame of it, because they had cast away the sacrifice at Aulis, and because Androclidas and Amphitheus† took, they say, the king's money as the price of entangling the Lacedæmonians in a Grecian war, and the Thebans therefore attacked the Phocians and wasted their country: it being said on the other hand that Lysander was angry that the Thebans had preferred a claim to the tenth part of the spoils of the war, while the rest of the confederates submitted without complaint, and had expressed indignation about the money which Lysander sent to Sparta; and most especially, because from them the Athenians had obtained the first opportunity of freeing themselves from the Thirty tyrants, whom Lysander had made, and to fortify whom in their power the Lacedæmonians issued a decree that political

* The first Boeotian, or, as it is often called, the Corinthian war, which brought back Agesilaus from Asia, and which was terminated by the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387.

† Androclidas and Amphitheus were two of the chief Thebans. Androclidas is mentioned with Ismenias as the chief men of the time, in the life of Pelopidas, Chaps. 5. and 6.

refugees from Athens might be arrested in whatever country they were found, and that those who impeded their arrest should be excluded from the confederacy. In reply to this the Thebans issued counter-decrees of their own, truly in the spirit and temper of the actions of Hercules and Bacchus*, that every house and town in Bœotia should be opened to the Athenians who required it, and that he who did not help a refugee who was seized, should be fined a talent for damages, and if any one should bear arms through Bœotia to Attica against the tyrants, that *none of the Thebans should either see or hear it*. Nor did they pass these humane and truly Greek decrees without at the same time making their acts conformable to their words. For Thrasybulus and those who with him occupied Phyle, set out upon that enterprise from Thebes, with arms and money and secrecy and a point to start from, all provided for them with the help of the Thebans. Such were the causes of complaint which Lysander had against the Thebans.

28 And being now grown altogether violent in his temper through the atrabilious tendency which increased upon him in his age, he urged the Ephors and persuaded them to order out forces against them, and taking the command, set forth. Pausanias also, the king, was sent shortly after with an army. Now Pausanias, coming round across Cithæron, was on this

Battle
of Hal-
artus,
B.C. 395.

* Their countrymen, so to call them, of old, the Theban Hercules and the Theban Bacchus, Hercules to whom Alcmena gave birth in Thebes, and Bacchus the child of the Theban princess, Semele.

quarter to invade Bœotia ; Lysander meantime advanced through Phocis to meet him with a numerous body of soldiers.* He occupied the city of the Orchomenians, who came over to him of their own accord, and went on and plundered Lebadea. And he despatched letters to Pausanias, telling him to move from Platæa to meet him at Haliartus, saying he himself would be at the walls of Haliartus by break of day. These letters were brought to the Thebans, the carrier of them falling into the hands of some Theban scouts. The Thebans, who had received aid from Athens, committed their city to the charge of the Athenian troops, and sallying out about the first sleep, succeeded in reaching Haliartus a little before Lysander, and part of them entered into the city. He, upon this, first of all resolved, posting his army upon a hill, to stay for Pausanias ; then as the day advanced, not being able to remain quiet, he bade his men take up their arms, and encouraging the allies, led them in a column along the road to the walls. Those Thebans who had remained outside, taking the city on the left hand, advanced against the rear of their enemies by the spring which is called Cissusa ; where, says the story, the nurses washed the infant Bacchus after his birth ; the water is of a bright wine colour, clear, and most pleasant to drink ; and not far off the Cretan storax grows all about, which the Haliartians adduce in token of Rhadamanthus having dwelt there, and they show

* Lysander was already to the north of Bœotia with some Spartan forces that were there. Pausanias came direct out of Peloponnesus, from the south.

his sepulchre, calling it Alea; and the monument also of Alcmena is hard by; for there, they say, she was buried, having married Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death.* But the Thebans inside the city, forming in order of battle with the Haliartians, stood still for some time; but on seeing Lysander, with a party of those who were foremost, approaching, on a sudden opening the gates and falling on, they killed him with the soothsayer at his side, and a few others; for the greater part immediately fled back to the main force. But the Thebans not slackening, but closely pursuing them, the whole body turned to fly towards the hills. There were one thousand of them slain; there died also of the Thebans three hundred, who were killed with their enemies, while following them into craggy and difficult places. These had been under suspicion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and in their eagerness to clear themselves in the eyes of their fellow-citizens exposed themselves in the pursuit, and so met their death.

29 News of the disaster reached Pausanias as he was on the way from Platæa to Thespiz; and having set his

* Haliartus is not far from Thebes, on a low hill terminating in cliffs on the southern edge of the lake Copais. "Though not fifty feet higher than the water," says Colonel Leake, "the rocky point projecting into the marsh is remarkable from every part of the plain."—Hoplites is "the rivulet under the western wall;" and Cissusa "the fountain below the cliffs." Cissusa has nothing to do with Tilphussa, the spring beside which, according to the story, Tiresias died. In Plutarch's time the town of Haliartus was extinct; one of the few remaining objects, when Pausanias went there, was a monument of Lysander.

army in order he came to Haliartus : Thrasybulus also came from Thebes, leading the Athenians. Pausanias proposing to request the bodies of the dead under truce, the elder men of the Spartans took it ill and were angry among themselves, and coming to the king, declared that Lysander should not be taken away upon any conditions ; *if they fought it out by arms about his body and conquered, then they might bury him, and if they were overcome, it was glorious to die upon the spot with their commander.* When the elders had spoken these things, Pausanias saw it would be a difficult business to vanquish the Thebans, who had but just been conquerors ; that Lysander's body also lay near the walls, so that it would be hard for them, though they overcame, to take it away without a truce : he therefore sent a herald, obtained a truce, and withdrew his forces. And carrying away the body of Lysander, they buried it in the first friendly soil they reached on crossing the Bœotian frontier, in the country of the Panopeans ; where the monument still stands on the roadside, as you go from Delphi to Chæronea. Now the army quartering there, it is said that a person of Phocis, relating the battle to one who was not in it, said the enemies fell upon them *just after Lysander had passed over Hoplites* ; surprised at which a Spartan, a friend of Lysander, asked *what Hoplites he meant, for he did not know the name.* " It was there," answered the Phocian, " that the enemy killed the first of us ; the rivulet by the city is called Hoplites." On hearing which the Spartan shed tears and observed, *How impossible it is for any man to avoid his appointed lot ;*

Lysander, it appears, having received an oracle as follows :—

*Sounding Hoplites see thou bear in mind,
And the earth-born dragon following behind.*

Some however say that Hoplites does not run by Haliartus, but is a watercourse by Coronea, falling into the river Philarus near the town in former times called Hoplias and now Isomantus. The man of Haliartus who killed Lysander, by name Neochorus, bore on his shield the device of a dragon; and this, it was supposed, the oracle signified. It is said also that in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Thebans received an oracle from the sanctuary of the Ismenian Apollo, referring at once to the battle of Delium and to this which thirty years after took place at Haliartus. It ran thus :—

*Hunting the wolf, observe the utmost bound,
And Orchalid the hill where foxes most are found.*

By the words, *the utmost bound*, Delium being intended, where Bœotia touches Attica, and by *Orchalid* the hill now called Alopecus*, which lies in the parts of Haliartus towards Helicon.

- 30 But such a death befalling Lysander, the Spartans took it so grievously at the time, that they put the king to a trial for his life, which he not daring to await fled to Tegea, and there lived out his life in the sanctuary

* Alopecus, derived from *alópe*, a fox. Hoplites, it should also be said, in explanation of the surprise of Lysander's friend, would be an unusual name for a stream, being the ordinary word for a heavy-armed soldier, a man-at-arms: and in this sense it would be understood in the oracle; "The sounding man-at-arms see thou bear in mind, and the earth-born dragon," &c.

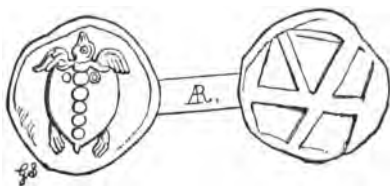
of Minerva. The poverty also of Lysander being discovered by his death, made his merit more manifest, since from so much wealth and power, from all the homage of the cities and of the Persian kingdom, he had not in the least degree, so far as money goes, taken means for any private splendour, as Theopompus in his history relates, to whom any one may rather give credit when he commends, than when he finds fault, as he likes better to blame than to praise. But subsequently, Ephorus says, some controversy arising at Sparta about



Plain of Sparta. (From an original sketch by Sir W. Gell, in the British Museum.)

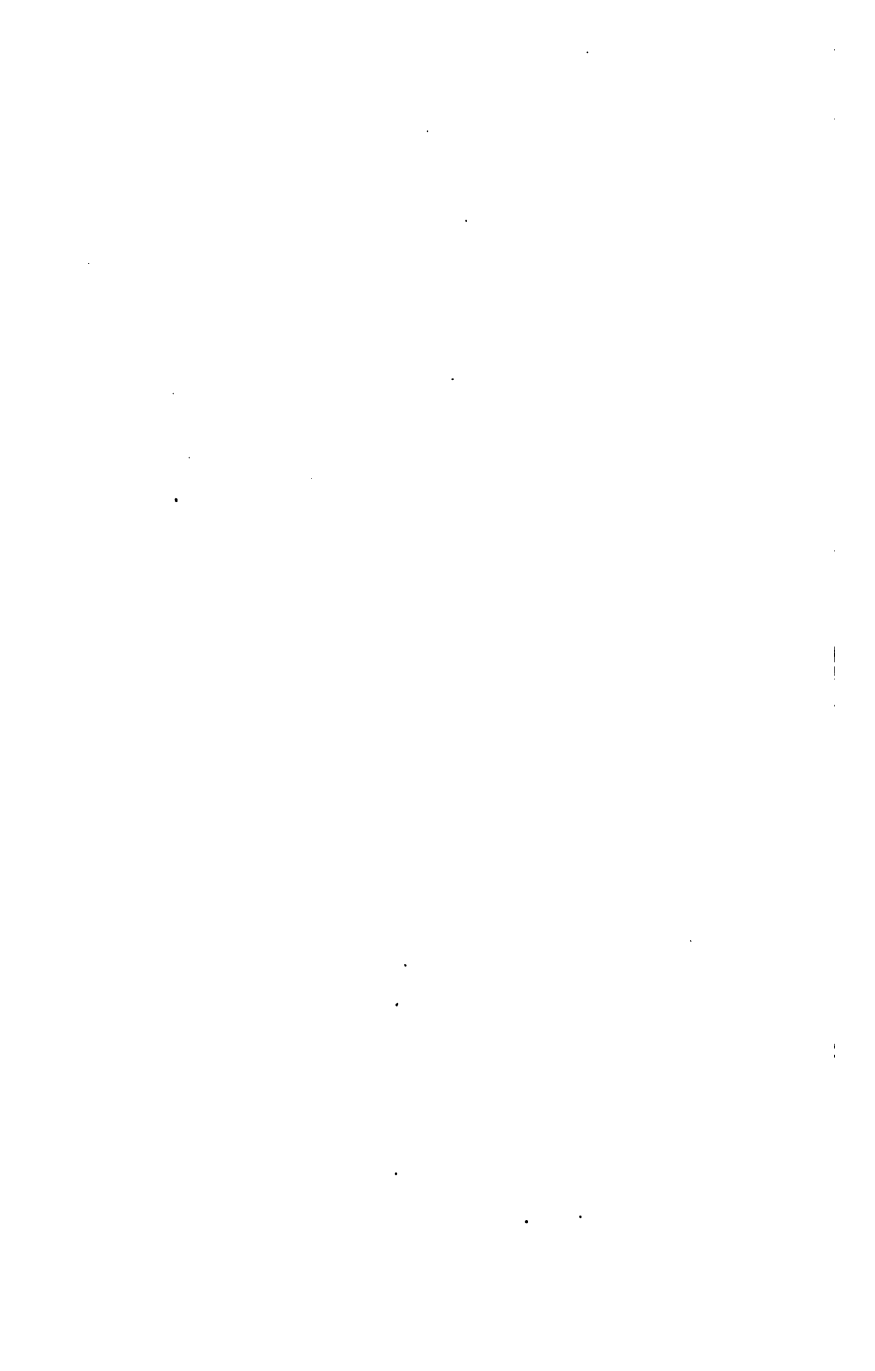
some matter of the allies, which made it necessary to consult the writings which Lysander had kept by him, Agexilaus came to his house, and finding the book in which the oration on the Spartan constitution was written out, to the effect that the kingdom ought to be taken from the Eurypontidæ and Agiadæ and be offered in common, and a choice made out of the best citizens,

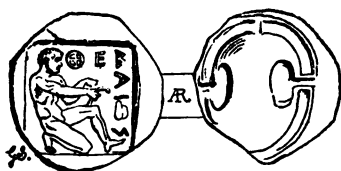
at first he was eager to make it public and to show his countrymen the real character of Lysander. But Lactatidas, a wise man and at that time chief of the Ephors, stopped Agesilaus, and said, they had better *not dig up Lysander again, but rather bury with him such a plausible and dangerous speech*. All the honours were paid him after his death; and moreover they imposed a fine upon those who had engaged to marry his daughters, and then, on his decease, when Lysander was found to be poor, had refused them; because when they thought him rich they had been observant of him, but now when his poverty had proved him just and good, forsook him. For there was, it seems, in Sparta a punishment for not marrying, for a late, and for a bad marriage; and to the last penalty those were most especially liable who sought alliances with the rich, instead of with the good and with their friends. Such is the account we have collected of Lysander.



Coin of Agesilaus.

PELOPIDAS.





Coin of Thebes.

CATO the Elder, hearing some people commending a man who was rash, and inconsiderately daring in battle, said, *there was a difference between a man's prizing valour at a great rate, and valuing life at little*; a very just remark. Antigonus, we know, had a soldier, a venturous fellow, but of wretched health and constitution; the reason of whose ill looks he took the trouble to inquire into; and, on understanding from him that it was a disease, directed his physicians to employ their utmost skill, and if possible recover him; which brave hero, when once cured, never afterwards sought danger or did any desperate deed in battle; and, when Antigonus wondered and upbraided him with his change, made no secret of the reason, and said, "Sir, you are the cause of my cowardice, by having freed me from those miseries which made me care little for life." With the same feeling, the Sybarite seems to have said of the Spartans, *that it was no great merit in them to be so ready to die in the wars, since by that they were re-*

leased from such hard labour and miserable living. And certainly the soft and dissolute Sybarites might very well imagine that the Lacedæmonians hated life, because in their eager pursuit of virtue and glory they were not afraid to die: but the truth is, they found their virtue secure them satisfaction alike in living or in dying; as we see in the epitaph,—

*They died, but not as lavish of their blood,
Or thinking death itself was simply good;
Their wishes neither were to live nor die,
But to do both alike commendably.*

Avoiding death is not wrong, if our desires for life are honourable, nor is willingness to die virtuous, if it proceeds from a contempt of life. Homer always brings his bravest and most daring heroes well-armed into battle; and the Greek lawgivers punished those that threw away their shields, not him that lost his sword or spear; intimating that defence rather than offence is a man's duty, and more particularly a commander's, whether of a city or an army.

- 2 For if, as Iphicrates divides it out, the light-armed are the hands, the horse the feet, the infantry the chest, and the general the head, he, when he puts himself upon danger, not only ventures his own person, but all those whose safety depends on his; and so on the contrary. Callicratidas therefore, though otherwise a great man, was wrong in his answer to the diviner who advised him, the sacrifice being unlucky, to be careful of his life; "Sparta," said he, "will not miss one man." It was true, Callicratidas, when simply serving in any engagement either at sea or land, was but a single person, but as general, he united in his life the lives of all,

and could hardly be called one, when his death involved the ruin of so many. The saying of old Antigonus was better, who, when he was to fight at Andros, and one told him, "The enemy's ships are more than ours;" replied, "For how many then wilt thou reckon me?" intimating how highly a brave and experienced commander is to be rated; one of the first duties of whose office it is to save the person on whose safety that of others depends. And therefore I applaud Timotheus, who, when Chares showed the scars on his body, and his shield driven through by a lance, remarked, "Yet how ashamed I was, at the siege of Samos, when a dart fell near me, for exposing myself, more like a boy than like a general in command of a large army." Indeed, where the general's hazarding himself will go far to decide the result, there he must fight and venture his person, and not mind their maxima, who would have a general *die, if not of, at least in old age*; but when the advantage will be but small if he prospers, and the loss fatal if he falls, who then would desire, at the risk of the commander's life, a piece of success which a common soldier might obtain? Thus much I thought fit to premise in reference to the lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus*, who were both great men, but who both fell by their own rashness. For, being gallant in action, and having gained their respective countries great glory and advantage in their conduct of war against the most formidable enemies (the one, as it is related, first defeating Hannibal, who was till then invincible; the other in a set battle beating the Lacedæmonians, then

* With whom Plutarch compares him among the Romans.

supreme both at sea and land), they ventured at last too far, and were heedlessly prodigal of their lives, when there was the greatest need of men and commanders such as they. And this agreement in their characters and their deaths is the reason why I compare their lives.

- 3 Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, was descended, as likewise Epaminondas was, from a distinguished family in Thebes; and, being brought up to opulence, and having a noble estate left him whilst he was young, he made it his business to relieve the good and deserving amongst the poor, that he might show himself lord and not slave of his estate. (For amongst men, as Aristotle observes, some are too petty-minded to use their wealth, and some are loose and abuse it; and these live perpetual slaves to their pleasures, as do the former to their gain.) Others permitted themselves to be obliged by Pelopidas, and thankfully made use of his liberality and kindness; but alone amongst all his friends, he could never persuade Epaminondas to be a sharer in his wealth. Pelopidas however, stepped down into his poverty, and took pleasure in the same poor attire, spare diet, unwearied endurance of hardships, and unshrinking boldness in war; and like Capaneus in Euripides, who had

Abundant wealth, and in that wealth no pride;

he was ashamed any one should think that he spent more upon his person than the meanest Theban. Epaminondas made his familiar and hereditary poverty more light and easy, by his philosophy and single life;

but Pelopidas married a wife of distinction, and had children; yet still attending little to his private interests, and devoting all his time to the public, he reduced his estate: and, when his friends admonished and told him, how necessary that money which he neglected was, "Yes," he replied, "necessary to Nicodemus," pointing to a blind cripple.

Both seemed equally fitted by nature for all sorts of excellence; but bodily exercises chiefly delighted Pelopidas, learning Epaminondas; and the one spent his spare hours in hunting, and at the palæstra, the other in hearing lectures or philosophising. And, amongst a thousand points for praise in both, the judicious esteem nothing equal to that constant benevolence and friendship which they preserved from first to last without reproach in so long a course of public conflicts, commands in war, and administration of the commonwealth. For if any one looks on the administrations of Aristides and Themistocles, of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, what confusion, what envy, what mutual jealousy appears? And if he then turns his eyes to the affection and reverence that Pelopidas showed Epaminondas, he must needs confess, that these are more truly and more justly styled colleagues in government and command than the others, who strove rather to overcome one another than their enemies. The true cause of this was their virtue; whence it came that they did not make their actions aim at wealth and glory, an endeavour sure to lead to bitter and contentious jealousy; but both from the beginning being inflamed with a divine desire of seeing their country become glorious and powerful by their ex-

ertions, they used to that end one another's excellences as their own. Many indeed think this extreme and entire affection is to be dated from the battle at Mantinea*, where they both fought, being part of the succours that were sent from Thebes to the Lacedæmonians, their then friends and allies. For, being placed together amongst the heavy infantry and engaging the Arcadians, when the Lacedæmonian wing, in which they fought, gave ground, and almost all fled, they closed their shields together and resisted the assailants. Pelopidas, having received seven wounds in the fore part of his body, fell upon a heap of slain friends and enemies; and Epaminondas, though he thought him past recovery, advanced to defend his arms and body, and singly fought a number, resolving rather to die than forsake Pelopidas. And now, he too being much distressed, being wounded in the breast by a spear, and in the arm by a sword, Agesipolis, the king of the Spartans, came to his succour from the other wing, and beyond hope delivered both.

5 Afterwards the Lacedæmonians being in profession friends and allies to Thebes †, but in truth looking with jealous suspicions on the designs and power of the city, and chiefly hating the party of Ismenias and Androclidas, to which Pelopidas belonged, as tending to liberty and the advancement of the commonalty,

After
the
peace of
Antalci-
das,
B.C. 387.

* The first and less famous battle, which Alcibiades brought about in the time of the Peloponnesian war. (See above, p. 134.)

† In the years following the end of the first Bœotian war (in which Lysander fell) and the conclusion of the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387; generally, however, it may apply to the whole period after the end of the Peloponnesian war.

Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, all rich men and of oligarchical principles and immoderately ambitious, urged Phœbidas the Spartan, as he was on his way past the city with a considerable force, to surprise the Cadmea, and, expelling the contrary faction, to establish an oligarchy, and by that means subject the city to the supremacy of the Spartans. He, accepting the proposal, at the festival of Ceres unexpectedly fell on the Thebans, and made himself master of the citadel. Ismenias was taken, carried to Sparta, and in a short time put to death; but Pelopidas, Pherenicus, Androclidas, and many more escaped and were publicly proclaimed out-laws. Epaminondas stayed at home, being not much looked after, as one whom philosophy had made inactive and poverty incapable.

Sur-
prise of
the Cad-
mea,
B.C. 382.

The Lacedæmonians cashiered Phœbidas, and fined 6 him one hundred thousand drachmas, yet still kept a garrison in the Cadmea; which made all Greece wonder at their inconsistency, since they punished the doer, but approved the deed. And though the Thebans, having lost their ancient government, and living as slaves under Archias and Leontidas, had not so much as a hope remaining to get free from this tyranny, which they saw guarded by the whole military power of the Spartans, and beyond any chance of being overthrown, unless these could be deposed from their command of sea and land, yet Leontidas and his associates, understanding that the exiles lived at Athens in favour with the people, and with honour from all the noble citizens, formed secret designs against their lives, and suborning some unknown persons, despatched Androclidas, but were not successful on the rest. Letters, besides, were sent

from Sparta to the Athenians, warning them neither to receive nor countenance the exiles, but to expel them as declared common enemies of the confederacy. But the Athenians, from their natural hereditary inclination to humane dealing, and also to make a grateful return to the Thebans, who had been their principal assistants in restoring their democracy*, and had publicly enacted, that if any Athenian should march in arms through Bœotia against the tyrants, that *no Bœotian should either see or hear it*, did the Thebans no harm.

- 7 Pelopidas, though one of the youngest, was active in privately exciting each single exile; and at their meetings told them, that it was both dishonourable and impious to neglect their enslaved and engarrisoned country, and, lazily contented with their own lives and safety, depend on decrees at Athens, and through fear fawn on every public speaker that was able to work upon the people: *no, they must venture for this great prize, taking Thrasybulus's bold courage for example, and as he advanced from Thebes and put down the Athenian tyrants, so they should march from Athens and free Thebes.* When by this language he had persuaded them, they privately despatched some persons to those friends they had left at Thebes, and acquainted them with their designs. Their plans being approved, Charon, the most distinguished of their friends, offered his house for their reception; Phillidas contrived to get himself made secretary to Archias and Philip, who then held the office of generals†; and Epaminondas had already

* When the Thirty tyrants were expelled, as related in the life of Lysander.

† *Polemarchs* in the Greek. These were the military magi-

roused the youth. For in their exercises he had directed them to challenge and wrestle with the Spartans, and again, when he saw them puffed up with any victory and success, sharply told them, it was the greater shame to be such cowards as to serve those whom in strength they so much excelled.

The day for action being fixed, it was agreed upon 8 by the exiles, that Pherenicus with the rest should stay in the Thriasian plain, while some few of the youngest men tried the first danger, by endeavouring to get into the city ; and, if they were caught by their enemies, the others should take care to provide for their children and parents. Pelopidas first offered to undertake the business ; then Melon, Damoclidias, and Theopompus, men of noble families, who, in other things loving and faithful to one another, were constant rivals only in glory and courageous exploits. They were twelve in all, and having taken leave of those that stayed behind, and sent a messenger to Charon, they went forward, clad in short coats, and carrying hounds and hunting poles with them, that they might be taken for hunters beating over the fields*, and prevent all suspicion in those that met

The
conspi-
racy of
the The-
ban
exiles.
BC. 379.

strates of the town of Thebes. The Bœotarchs mentioned afterwards were the generals of the whole Bœotian union of states. The entire narrative that follows, of the execution of the plot, is told also by Plutarch in his fictitious dialogue *On the Genius* (the attendant spirit) *of Socrates*, the scene of which is laid at Athens, where Caphisias, Epaminondas's brother, relates it in connection with a conversation *On the Genius of Socrates*, which is represented as having been held at the very time by Epaminondas and others.

* Or rather hills (or even mountains), the range of Cithæron between Eleusis and Thebes.

them on the way. When the messenger came to Charon, and told him they were approaching, he did not change his resolution at the sight of danger, but, being a man of his word, offered them his house. But one Hipposthenidas, a man of no ill principles, a lover of his country, and a friend to the exiles, but not of as much resolution as the shortness of the time and the character of the action required, being as it were dizzied at the greatness of the approaching enterprise, and beginning now for the first time to comprehend that, relying on the weak assistance which could be expected from a set of exiles, they were undertaking no less a task than to shake the government, and overthrow the whole power of Sparta, went off, without saying anything, to his house, and sent a friend to Melon and Pelopidas, desiring them to forbear for the present, to return to Athens and expect a better opportunity. The messenger's name was Chlidon, who, going home in haste and bringing out his horse, asked for the bridle; but, his wife not knowing where it was, and, when it could not be found, telling him she had lent it to a friend, first they began to chide, then to revile one another, and his wife wished the journey might *prove ill to him and those that sent him*; insomuch that Chlidon's passion made him waste a good part of the day in this quarrelling, and then looking on this chance as an omen, he laid aside all thoughts of his journey, and went away to some other business. So nearly had these great and glorious designs, even in the very outset, lost their opportunity.

- 9 However Pelopidas and his companions, dressing themselves like countrymen, divided, and, whilst it was

yet day, entered at different quarters of the city. It was, besides, a windy day, and it was beginning to come on for snow, which contributed much to their concealment, because most people were gone in doors to avoid the weather. Those however who were concerned in the design, received them as they came, and conducted them to Charon's house, where the exiles and the others made up forty-eight in number. The tyrants' affairs stood thus: the secretary Phillidas, as I have already observed, was an accomplice in, and privy to all the contrivance of the exiles, and he, some considerable while before, had invited Archias, with others, to an entertainment on that day, to drink freely, and meet some women of the town, on purpose that when they were drunk, and given up to their pleasures, he might deliver them over to the conspirators. But before they were yet well heated, notice was brought that the exiles were hiding in the town; a true report indeed, but obscure, and not well confirmed: nevertheless, though Phillidas endeavoured to divert the discourse, Archias sent one of his guard to Charon, and commanded him to attend immediately. It was evening, and Pelopidas and his friends with him in the house were putting themselves into a fit posture for action, having their breast-plates on already, and their swords girt: but at the sudden knocking at the door, one stepping forth to inquire of the matter, and learning from the officer that *Charon was sent for by the generals*, returned in great confusion and acquainted those within; and all immediately conjectured that the whole plot was discovered, and they should be cut in pieces, before so much as achieving any action to do credit to their

bravery; yet all agreed that Charon should obey, and attend the generals to prevent suspicion. Charon was indeed a man of courage and steadiness in all dangers, yet in this case he was extremely troubled and disturbed, lest any should suspect that he was the traitor, and the death of so many brave citizens be laid on him. And, therefore, when he was ready to depart, he brought his son out of the women's apartment, a little boy as yet, but one of the best looking and strongest of all those of his age, and delivered him to Pelopidas with these words: "If you hold me a traitor, treat this boy as an enemy without any mercy." The distress and the high feeling which Charon showed, drew tears from several of them; but all protested vehemently against his supposing any one of them so mean-spirited and so unmannered by the appearance of approaching danger, as to suspect or blame him; and desired him not to involve his son, but to put him out of harm's way; that *so he, perhaps, escaping the tyrant's power, might live to revenge the city and his friends.* Charon however refused to remove him, and asked, *what life, what safety could be more honourable, than to die bravely with his father, and such generous companions?* Thus imploring the protection of the gods, and saluting and encouraging them all, he departed, considering with himself, and composing his voice and countenance, that he might look as little like as possible to what in fact he really was.

- 10 When he was come to the door, Archias with Phillidas came out to him, and said, "I have heard, Charon, that there are some men just come, and lurking in the town, and that some of the citizens are resorting to them." Charon was at first disturbed, but asking, "Who are

they? and who conceals them?" and finding Archias had no exact knowledge of the matter, he concluded that none of those privy to the design had given this information, and replied, "Do not disturb yourselves for an empty rumour: I will look into it, however, for no report in such a case is to be neglected." Phillidas, who stood by, commended him, and leading back Archias, got him deep in drink, still prolonging the entertainment with the prospect of the women's company. But when Charon returned, and found the men prepared, not as if they hoped for safety and success, but to die bravely and with the slaughter of their enemies, he told Pelopidas and his friends the facts, but pretended to others in the house that Archias talked to him about something else, inventing a story for the occasion. This storm was just blowing over, when fortune brought another; for a messenger came with a letter from Athens from one Archias, the Hierophant, to his namesake Archias, who was his friend and guest. This did not contain any vague conjectural suspicion, but, as was found afterwards, gave a clear account of every particular of the design. The messenger being brought in to Archias, who was now pretty well drunk, and delivering the letter, said to him, "The writer of this desired it might be read at once; it is on urgent business." Archias with a smile replied, "Urgent business to-morrow," and so receiving the letter, he put it under his pillow, and returned to what he had been speaking of with Phillidas; and these words of his are a proverb to this day amongst the Greeks.

The proper time now seeming to be come for the 11
action, they set out in two companies; Pelopidas and

Damoclidas with their party went against Leontidas and Hypates, who lived near together ; Charon and Melon against Archias and Philip, having put on women's apparel over their breastplates, and thick garlands of fir and pine to shade their faces ; and so, as soon as they appeared at the door, the guests clapped and gave a cheer, supposing them to be the women they expected. But when the conspirators had looked about the room, and carefully marked all that were at the entertainment, they drew their swords, and making their way amongst the tables to Archias and Philip disclosed who they were. Phillidas persuaded some few of his guests to sit still, and those who got up and endeavoured to resist with the generals, being drunk, were easily despatched. But Pelopidas and his party met with a harder task ; as they attempted Leontidas, a sober and formidable man, and when they came to his house found his doors shut, he being already gone to bed. They knocked a long time before any one would answer, but, at last, a servant that heard them, coming out and unbarring the door, as soon as the gate gave way, they rushed in, and, overturning the man, made all haste to Leontidas's chamber. But Leontidas, guessing at the matter by the noise and running, leaped from his bed and drew his dagger, but forgot to put out the lights and by that means made them fall foul on one another in the dark. As it was, being easily seen by the light, he received them at his chamber door, and stabbed Cephisodorus, the first man that entered : on whose falling, the next that he engaged was Pelopidas ; and the passage being narrow and Cephisodorus's body lying in the way, there was a fierce

and doubtful conflict. At last Pelopidas prevailed, and having killed Leontidas, he and his companions went in pursuit of Hypates, and in the same manner broke into his house. Hypates had quickly perceived what it was, and had fled to his neighbours; but they closely followed, and caught and killed him.

This done, they joined Melon, and sent to hasten the 12 exiles they had left in Attica: and called upon the citizens to maintain their liberty, and taking down the spoils that were hung up in the porches, and breaking open all the armourers' shops that were near, equipped those that came to their assistance. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in already armed, with a train of young men, and the best of the old. The city was all in excitement and confusion, there was a great noise and hurry, lights set up in every house, men running here and there; however the people did not as yet gather into a body, but, amazed at the proceedings, and not understanding the matter, waited for the day. And therefore the Spartan officers were thought to have been in fault for not coming out and engaging at once, since their garrison consisted of about fifteen hundred men, and many of the citizens ran to them; but, alarmed with the noise, the fires, and the confused movement of the people, they kept quietly within the Cadmea. As soon as day appeared, the exiles from Attica came in armed, and there was a general assembly of the people. Epaminondas and Gorgidas brought forth Pelopidas and his party, encompassed by the priests, who held out garlands, and exhorted the people to fight for their country and their gods. The assembly, at their appearance,

rose up in a body, and with shouts and acclamations received the men as their deliverers and benefactors.

13 Then Pelopidas, being chosen a chief captain of Bœotia*, together with Melon and Charon, proceeded at once to blockade the citadel, and stormed it on all sides, being extremely desirous to expel the Lacedæmonians, and free the Cadmea, before an army could come from Sparta to their relief. And he just so narrowly succeeded, that they, having surrendered on terms and departed, on their way home met Cleombrotus at Megara marching towards Thebes with a considerable force. The Spartans condemned and executed Herippidas and Arcissus, two of their governors† at Thebes, and Lysanoridas the third being severely fined, fled Peloponnesus. This action, so closely resembling that of Thrasybulus, in the courage of the actors, the danger, and the encounters, and equally crowned with success, was called the sister of it by the Greeks. For we can scarcely find any other examples where so small and so weak a party of men by bold courage overcame such numerous and such powerful enemies, or brought greater blessings to their country by so doing. But the subsequent change of affairs

Surrender of the Cadmea, B.C. 379.

* A Bœotarch. There was one Bœotarch for every town in the Union, and two for Thebes. This office, like that of Strategus or General at Athens, appears to have lasted down into Plutarch's time, and even later. Ammonius, Plutarch's teacher, was General at Athens, and among Leake's inscriptions is one to the memory of Marcus Ulpus Damasippus, *Bœotarch and a Bœotarch's son; set up for his kindness and virtue's sake* by his wife, Quintilia Plutarcha, not impossibly a descendant of Plutarch.

† Harmostæ, see the life of Lysander, chap. 13.

made this action the more famous; for the war which for ever ruined the pretensions of Sparta to command, and put an end to the supremacy she then exercised alike by sea and by land, proceeded from that night, in which Pelopidas, not surprising any fort, or castle, or citadel, but coming, the twelfth man, to a private house, loosed and broke, if we may speak truth in metaphor, the chains of the Spartan sway, which before seemed of adamant and indissoluble.

But now the Lacedæmonians invading Bœotia with a 14 great army, the Athenians, affrighted at the danger, declared themselves no allies to Thebes, and prosecuting those that stood for the Bœotian interest, executed some, and banished and fined others: and the cause of Thebes, destitute of allies, seemed in a desperate condition. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas, holding the office of captains of Bœotia, to renew the quarrel between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, bethought them of the following contrivance. Sphodrias, a Spartan, a man famous indeed for courage in battle, but of weak judgment, full of empty hopes and foolish ambition, was left with some force at Thespiæ, to receive and succour all deserters from the Thebans. To him Pelopidas and his colleagues privately sent a merchant, one of their friends, with money, and, what proved more efficient, advice,—that it became a man of his worth to attempt a great enterprise, to attack the unsuspecting Athenians and surprise the Piræus; *nothing could be so grateful to Sparta, as to take Athens; and the Thebans, of course, would not stir to the assistance of men whom they now hated and looked upon as their betrayers.* Sphodrias in the end was persuaded, and marched with his force by

Attempt
of Spho-
drias on
the Pi-
ræus.

Alliance
of The-
bes and
Athens,
B.C. 378.

night into Attica, and advanced as far as Eleusis; but there his soldiers' hearts failing, after exposing his project, and involving the Spartans in a troublesome war, he retreated to Thespiæ.

- 15 After this, the Athenians zealously took the side of Thebes, and making great exertions by sea, sailed to many places, and received and offered to support all those of the Greeks who were inclined to revolt. The Thebans, in the mean time, singly, in Bœotia, coming often to blows with the Spartans, and fighting battles, not great indeed, but important as training and instructing them, thus had their minds raised, and their bodies inured to labour, and gained both experience and courage by these frequent encounters. Insomuch that we are told that Antalcidas, the Spartan, said to Agesilaus, when he came home wounded from Bœotia, "Indeed, the Thebans have paid you handsomely for instructing them, against their wills, in the art of war." In real truth, however, Agesilaus was not their master in this, but those that prudently and opportunely, as men do young dogs, set them on their enemies, and brought them safely off after they had tasted the sweets of victory and resolution. Of all which leaders Pelopidas had the most honour: as after they had once chosen him to be their general, he was every year in command as long as he lived; either captain of the Sacred Band, or, what was most frequent, chief captain of Bœotia. There were battles fought about Plateæ and Thespiæ, in which the Spartans were worsted and put to flight, and Phœbidas, who surprised the Cadmea, slain; and at Tanagra he routed a considerable force, and killed the governor Panthoides.

But these encounters, though they raised the victors' spirits, did not thoroughly dishearten the unsuccessful; for there was no set battle, or regular drawn-up fighting, but mere incursions on advantage, in which, according to occasion, they charged, retired again, or pursued.

But the battle at Tegyra, which seemed a prelude to 16 Leuctra, won Pelopidas a great reputation; for none of the other commanders could claim any hand in the victory, nor the enemies any sort of excuse for their defeat. The city of the Orchomenians siding with the Spartans, and having received two divisions* for its defence, Pelopidas kept a constant eye upon it, and watched his opportunity. Hearing that the garrison had moved into Locris, and hoping to find Orchomenus defenceless, he marched with his Sacred Band and some few horsemen. But when on reaching the city, he found that a new garrison was come to relieve the old one, from Sparta, he retreated with his little army by the roads through Tegyra, that being the only way he could pass, round, close under the slope of the hills.† For the river Melas, almost as soon as it rises, spreads out into marshes and navigable pools, and makes all the level ground between impassable. A little below the marshes stands a temple and oracle of Apollo Tegyraeus, forsaken not long before that time, having flourished till the Median wars, Echeocrates then being priest. Here they profess that the god was born; the

* Two *moras*, as was the Spartan term, two regiments.

† Orchomenus stands at the end of the line of the hills; the Melas rises at a point nearer Tegyra, at the foot of them, the road passing between the upper slopes and the wet grounds.

neighbouring mountain is called Delos, and there the river Melas comes again into a channel; behind the temple rise two springs, admirable for the sweetness, abundance, and coolness of the streams; one they call Palm, the other Olive, even to the present time, as if Lucina had been delivered, not between two trees, but two fountains. Ptoüm is not far off, where they say she was affrighted by the appearance of a boar; and the stories of the Python and Tityus are in like manner claimed by these localities.* I omit many of the points that are used as arguments. For our own tradition does not rank this god amongst those that were born, and then made immortal, as Hercules and Bacchus, whom their virtue raised above a mortal and passible condition; but Apollo is one of the eternal unbegotten deities, if we may take an opinion concerning points of this kind from the statements of the oldest and wisest.

- 17 So as the Thebans were retreating from Orchomenus towards Tegyrae, the Spartans, at the same time marching from Locris, met them. As soon as they came in view, advancing through the straits, one told Pelopidas, "We are fallen into the enemy's hands;" he replied, "And why not they into ours?" and immediately

Battle
of Te-
gyrae,
B.C. 375.

* Latona gave birth to Apollo and Diana, according to the common tradition, between a palm and an olive tree, in Delos, which these people said was not the island, but their own hill, and the Palm and Olive the two springs so called. Mount Ptoüm was said to be so called because she was *affrighted* (in Greek *ptoëthēnai*) there, and the stories how Apollo killed the serpent Python and the giant Tityus were, in like manner, made to belong to this spot. All these places are close to Plutarch's own home at Chæronea.

commanded all his horse to come up from the rear and charge, while he himself drew his infantry, being three hundred in number, into a close body, hoping by that means, at whatsoever point he made the attack, to break his way through his more numerous enemies. The Spartans had two divisions (the division consisting, as Ephorus states, of five hundred; Callisthenes says seven hundred; others, as Polybius, nine hundred); and their leaders, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, confident of success, advanced upon the Thebans. The charge being made with much fury on both sides, and chiefly where the commanders were posted, the two Spartan officers engaging Pelopidas were first killed; and those immediately around them suffering severely, the whole body was thus disheartened, and opened a lane for the Thebans, as if they desired only to pass through and escape. But when Pelopidas entered, and turning against those that stood their ground, still went on with a bloody slaughter, an open flight ensued amongst the Spartans. The pursuit was carried but a little way, because they feared the neighbouring Orchomenians, and the reinforcement from Lacedæmon. They had succeeded, however, in fighting a way through their enemies, and passing victoriously right through their whole force; and therefore erecting a trophy, and spoiling the slain, they returned home extremely encouraged with their achievement. For in all the many wars there had ever been against Greeks or barbarians, the Spartans were never before beaten by a smaller company than their own; nor, indeed, in a set battle, when their number was equal. Hence their courage was thought irresistible, and their very name was

enough, before any battle, to make a conquest of enemies, who did not themselves believe that with equal numbers they were any match for the men of Sparta. But this battle first taught the other Greeks, that not Eurotas only, or the country between Babyce and Cnacion*, breed men of courage and resolution; but that where young men are born who are ashamed of baseness, and ready to venture in a good cause, where they fly disgrace more than danger, there, wherever it be, are found the most formidable opponents.

- 18 Gorgidas, according to some, first formed the Sacred Band of three hundred chosen men, to whom, keeping guard in the Cadmea, the state allowed provision and things necessary for exercise; and hence they were called the City Band, as citadels at this time were usually called cities. Others say that it was composed of young men attached to each other by personal affection, and a pleasant saying of Pammenes is current, that *Homer's Nestor did not show much skill in ordering an army, when he advised the Greeks to rank tribe and tribe, and family and family, together,*

So tribe might tribe, and kinsmen kinsmen aid,

for he ought to have joined lovers and those they loved. For men of the same tribe or family little value one another when dangers press; but a band cemented by friendship grounded upon love, was, he said, *never to be broken, and invincible*; since lovers, ashamed to be

* Babyce a bridge, and Cnacion a river, at Sparta, between which the general assemblies of the Spartans met.

base in sight of those they care so much for, and these again before those who love them, willingly stand firm in danger for the sake of one another. Nor can that be wondered at; since they have more regard for their absent lovers than for others present; as in the instance of the man, who, when his enemy was going to kill him, earnestly besought him to run him through the breast, that "he whom I love may not blush to see me wounded in the back." It is a tradition likewise, that Iolaüs assisted Hercules in his labours and fought at his side, as one thus beloved of him; and Aristotle observes, that even in his time, *lovers plighted their faith at Iolaüs's tomb*. It is likely, therefore, that the band was called sacred on this account; as Plato calls a lover *a divine friend*. It is stated that it was never beaten till the battle at Chæronea: and when Philip, after the fight, took a view of the slain, and came to the place where the three hundred that had met, face to face, the long spears of his phalanx, lay dead in their armour together, he wondered, and understanding that it was the band of lovers, he shed tears and said, "Perish any man who suspects that these men either did or suffered anything that was base."

It was not the matter of Laius*, as the poets imagine, 19 that first gave rise to this form of attachment amongst the Thebans, but their lawgivers, designing to soften, whilst they were young, their natural fierceness, brought, for example, the pipe into great esteem, both in serious and sportive occasions, and gave great encouragement

* Laius, father of Œdipus, according to an old and obscure story, carried away from his home Chrysippus the son of Pelops.

to these friendships in the palæstra, with a view of tempering and moulding together the characters of the youths. With a view to this they did well again to make Harmony, daughter of Mars and Venus, one of their tutelar deities; since, where force and courage are joined with gracefulness and winning behaviour, a harmony ensues that combines all the elements of society in perfect consonance and order. Gorgidas had been used to distribute this Sacred Band all through the front ranks of the heavy infantry, and thus made their gallantry less conspicuous: not being united in one body, but mingled with so many others of inferior quality, they had no fair opportunity of showing what they could do together. But Pelopidas, having once seen their bravery shine out in its proper lustre at Tegyra, where they had fought alone, and around his own person, never afterward divided them, but keeping them entire, and as one man, gave them the first duty in the greatest battles. For as horses run briaker in a chariot than singly, not that their joint force divides the air with greater ease, but because being matched one against the other, emulation kindles and inflames their courage; thus he thought, brave men, provoking one another to noble actions, would prove most serviceable and most resolute, where they were all put together.

20 Now, when the Lacedæmonians had made peace with the other Greeks, and united all their strength against the Thebans only, and their king Cleombrotus had passed the frontier with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, and not only subjection, as heretofore, but total dispersion and extermination threatened, and Bœotia was in a greater fear than ever,—Pelopidas,

General
pacifi-
cation
in
Greece,
from
which
the The-
bans are
exclu-
ded.

leaving his house, when his wife followed him on his way, and with tears begged him to be careful of his life, made answer, "Private men, my wife, should be advised to look to themselves, generals to save others."

Spartan
invasion
of Bœo-
tia.

And when he came to the camp, and found the chief-captains disagreeing, he, first, joined the side of Epaminondas, who advised to fight the enemy; though Pelopidas himself was not then in office as a chief captain of Bœotia, but in command of the Sacred Band, and trusted as it was fit a man should be, who had given his country such proofs of his zeal for its freedom. And so, when a battle was agreed on, and they encamped in front of the Spartans at Leuctra, Pelopidas saw in his sleep a vision, which much discomposed him. In that plain are the graves of the daughters of one Scedasus*, called from the place Leuctridæ; having been buried there, after having been dishonoured by some Spartan strangers. When this base and lawless deed was done, and their father could get no satisfaction at Lacedæmon, with bitter imprecations on the Spartans he killed himself at his daughters' tombs: and, from that time, the prophecies and oracles still warned the Spartans to have a great care of the *Leuctrian vengeance*. Most people however did not well know the meaning, being uncertain about the place, because there was a little maritime town of Laconia called Leuctron,

* Scedasus lived at Leuctra, and had daughters named Hippo and Molpia. These were assaulted by men of Lacedæmon, Parthemidas, Phradarchidas, and Parthenius. The young women hung themselves; and their father, having gone in vain to Sparta for redress, came home to Leuctra and also killed himself.

and near Megalopolis in Arcadia a place of the same name; and the villany was committed long before this battle.

- 21 Now Pelopidas, being asleep in the camp, thought he saw the maidens weeping about their tombs and cursing the Spartans, and Scedasus commanding him, if he desired the victory, to *sacrifice a virgin with chestnut hair* to his daughters. Pelopidas looked on this as a cruel and impious injunction, but rose and told it to the prophets and commanders of the army, some of whom contended, that it was fit to obey, and adduced as examples from the ancients, Menœceus son of Creon, Macaria daughter of Hercules, and from later times, Pherecydes the philosopher, slain by the Lacedæmonians, and his skin, as some oracle had advised, still kept by their kings. Leonidas again, warned by the oracle, did as it were sacrifice himself for the good of Greece; Themistocles offered human victims to Bacchus the Devourer, before the engagement at Salamis; and success showed their actions to be good. On the contrary, Agesilaus going from the same place, and against the same enemies that Agamemnon did, and, being commanded in a dream at Aulis to sacrifice his daughter, was so weak as to disobey; the consequence of which was, that his expedition was unsuccessful and inglorious. But some on the other side urged, that *such a barbarous and impious oblation could not be pleasing to any Superior Being; that typhons and giants did not preside over the world, but the general father of gods and men; that it was absurd to imagine any divinities or powers delighted in slaughter and sacrifices of men; or, if there were any such, they were to be neglected, as weak and unable to*

assist ; such unreasonable and cruel desires could only proceed from, and live in, weak and depraved minds.

The commanders thus disputing, and Pelopidas being 22 in a great perplexity, a mare colt, breaking from the herd, ran through the camp, and when she came to the place where they were, stood still ; and whilst some admired her bright chestnut colour, others her mettle, or the strength and boldness of her neighing, Theocritus the diviner took thought, and cried out to Pelopidas, " O good friend ! look, the sacrifice is come ; expect no other virgin, but use that which the gods have sent thee." With that they took the colt, and, leading her to the maidens' sepulchres, with the usual solemnity and prayers, offered her with joy, and spread through the whole army the account of Pelopidas's dream, and how they had given the required sacrifice.

In the battle, Epaminondas, bending his phalanx to 23 the left, that, as much as possible, he might divide the right wing, composed of Spartans, from the other Greeks, and so drive back Cleombrotus by one fierce charge in column on that wing, the enemies perceived the design, and began to change their order, to open and extend their right wing, and, as they far exceeded him in number, to encompass Epaminondas. But Pelopidas with the three hundred came rapidly up, before Cleombrotus could extend his line, and close up his divisions, and so fell upon the Spartans while in disorder, and before they were in their places ; though the Lacedæmonians, the expertest and cleverest of all mankind in military arts, used to train and accustom themselves to nothing so much as to keep themselves from confusion upon any change of position, and to follow any leader, or right

Battle
of Leuc-
tra, B. C.
371.

hand man, and form in order, and fight on what part soever danger might press. In this battle, however, Epaminondas with his phalanx, neglecting the other Greeks and charging them alone, and Pelopidas, coming up with such incredible speed and boldness, so broke their courage and baffled their art, that there began such a flight and slaughter among the Spartans, as was never before known. And so Pelopidas, though in no high office, but only captain of a small band, got as much reputation by the victory, as Epaminondas, who was a general and a chief captain of Bœotia.

24 Into Peloponnesus, however, they both advanced together as colleagues in supreme command, and gained the greater part of the nations there from the Spartan confederacy; Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and much of Laconia itself. It was just the winter solstice, and but few days of the last month of the year remained, and, in the beginning of the next, new officers were to succeed, and whoever failed to deliver up his charge, forfeited his head. Therefore, the other chief captains fearing the law, and to avoid the sharpness of the winter, were anxious to retreat. But Pelopidas joined with Epaminondas, and, encouraging his countrymen, led them against Sparta, and passing the Eurotas, took many of the towns, and wasted the country as far as the sea. This army consisted of seventy thousand Greeks, of which number the Thebans could not make the twelfth part; but the reputation of the men made all their allies contented to follow them as leaders, though no decree or articles to that effect had been made. As indeed it seems the first and paramount law, that he that wants a defender, is naturally a subject to

Theban
invasion
of La-
conia,
B.C.
370-369.

him that is able to defend : as mariners, though in a calm or in the port they grow insolent and brave the pilot, yet when a storm comes and danger is at hand, they all attend, and put their hopes in him. So the Argives, Eleans, and Arcadians, in their congresses, would quarrel and contend with the Thebans for superiority in command, yet in battle, or in any hazardous undertaking, of their own will they followed their Theban captains. In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, and, expelling the Spartans that inhabited Messenia, they called back the old Messenians, and established them in Ithome in one body ; and, re-

Restoration of
the Messenians.



Ithome.

turning through Cenchreæ, they defeated the Athenians, who tried to set upon them in the straits, and hinder their march.

For these exploits all the other Greeks loved their 25 courage, and admired their success ; but among their own citizens at home, envy, still increasing with their glory, prepared them no pleasing nor agreeable reception. Both were tried for their lives, because they had

not delivered up their command in the first month, Bucatius, as the law required, but kept it four months longer, in which time they did these memorable actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia. Pelopidas was first tried, and therefore in greatest danger, but both were acquitted. Epaminondas bore this factious accusation and this trial of his temper very patiently, esteeming it a great and essential part of courage and generosity not to resent injuries in political life. But Pelopidas, being a man of warmer feelings, and stirred on by his friends to revenge the affront, took the following occasion. Meneclidas the orator was one of those that had met with Melon and Pelopidas at Charon's house; but not receiving equal honour, and being powerful in his speech, but licentious in his habits, and malicious, he found scope for himself in accusing and calumniating his betters, and did not cease even after this trial. He excluded Epaminondas from the chief captaincy, and for a long time kept the upper hand of him; but he was not powerful enough to bring Pelopidas out of the people's favour, and therefore endeavoured to raise a quarrel between him and Charon. And since it is some comfort to the envious, to make those whom themselves cannot excel appear in any way whatever inferior to others, he studiously enlarged upon Charon's actions in his speeches to the people, and made panegyrics on his expeditions and victories: and of the victory which the horsemen won at Plataea, before the battle at Leuctra, under Charon's command, he endeavoured to make the following sacred memorial. Androcydes the Cyzicenean had been employed to paint a previous battle for the city, and was at work in

Thebes; and when the revolt began, and the war came on, the Thebans kept the picture, which was then almost finished. This picture Meneclidas persuaded them to dedicate, inscribed with Charon's name, designing by that means to obscure the glory of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. This was a ludicrous piece of pretension; to set a single victory, where all that happened was that one Gerandas, an obscure Spartan, and forty other men were slain, above such numerous and important battles. This motion Pelopidas attacked, as contrary to law, alleging that it was not the custom of the Thebans to honour any single man, but to attribute the victory to their country; yet in all the dispute he extremely commended Charon, and confined himself to showing Meneclidas to be a troublesome and envious fellow, asking the Thebans, if they had done nothing that was excellent * . . . Insomuch that Meneclidas was severely fined; and being unable to pay, endeavoured afterwards to disturb the government. These things give us some light into Pelopidas's life.

But when Alexander, the tyrant of Phæræ, made 26 open war against some of the Thessalians, and had designs against all, the cities sent an embassy to Thebes, to desire succours and a general: and Pelopidas, knowing that Epaminondas was detained by the Peloponnesian affairs †, offered himself to lead the Thessalians, being unwilling to let his own courage and skill lie

Alexander, tyrant of Phæræ, from B.C. 369. Theban Expedition into

* Some words are probably lost here.

† A doubtful allusion: the dates and order of the events from this point are uncertain. Epaminondas was in Peloponnesus on the first invasion in the winter of B.C. 370-369; on a second invasion it is not certain when; on a third also uncertain; and on the fourth and last, in which he fell, in B.C. 362.

Thes-
saly.

withdrawn from his present duties. When he came with his forces into Thessaly, he at once became master of Larissa, and when Alexander came and made his submission, he endeavoured to reclaim and bring him, from being a tyrant, to govern gently and according to law. But finding him untractable and brutish, and hearing great complaints of his lust and his rapacity, he began to be severe with him, and used him roughly, so that the tyrant stole away privately with his guard. But Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians free from fear of the tyrant, and friends amongst themselves, and thinking it unfit that Epaminondas should be idle, marched into Macedonia, where Ptolemy was then at war with Alexander, the king of Macedon*; both parties having sent for him to hear and determine their differences, and to protect the one that should appear to have been injured. When he came, he reconciled them, called back the exiles, and receiving for hostages Philip the king's brother, and thirty children of the nobles' families, he brought them to Thebes; showing the other Greeks how wide a reputation the Thebans had gained for honesty and courage. This was that Philip who afterwards carried on war to enslave the Greeks: then he was a boy, and lived with Pammenes in Thebes. And hence some conjecture, that he took Epaminondas for his model; and perhaps, indeed, he

* Amyntas II., king of Macedon, was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander, who was presently killed by a certain Ptolemy, surnamed Alorites. Perdicas, the second son of Amyntas, shortly after killed Ptolemy, and reigned. And on his death Philip, the third son (father of Alexander the Great, and often called for distinction Philip the son of Amyntas), succeeded, and carried on war to enslave Greece.

did take example from his activity and skill in war, which however was but a small portion of his virtues; of his self-control, his justice, magnanimity, and patience, in which he was truly great, Philip enjoyed no share, either by nature or imitation.

After this, upon a second complaint of the Thessa- 27
lians against Alexander of Pheræ, as a disturber of the cities, Pelopidas was joined with Ismenias, in an embassy to him; but led no forces from Thebes, not expecting any war, and therefore was necessitated to make use of the Thessalians upon the emergency. At the same time also Macedon was in confusion again, as Ptolemy had murdered the king, and seized the government. The king's friends sent for Pelopidas; and he, being willing to interpose in the matter, but having no soldiers of his own, enlisted some mercenaries in the country, and with them marched against Ptolemy. When they faced one another, Ptolemy corrupted these mercenaries with a sum of money, and persuaded them to desert to him; but yet, fearing the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he came to him as his superior, submitted, begged his pardon, and protested that he kept the government only for the brothers of the dead king, and would prove a friend to the friends, and an enemy to the enemies of Thebes; and, to confirm this, he gave his son Philoxenus and fifty of his companions, for hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes; but, being vexed at the treachery of the mercenaries, and understanding that most of their goods, their wives and children, were left at Pharsalus, and thinking that if he could take these, they would be punished for their misconduct, he collected a body of the Thessalians,

Pelopidas seized by Alexander of Phæræ. and marched to Pharsalus. When he had just entered the city, Alexander the tyrant appeared before it with his forces; and Pelopidas and his friends, thinking that he came to clear himself from the crimes that were laid to his charge, went to him; and though they knew very well that he was profligate and cruel, yet they imagined that the authority of Thebes, and their own dignity and reputation, would secure them from violence. But the tyrant, seeing them come unarmed and alone, seized them, and made himself master of Pharsalus. Upon which all his subjects were filled with terror, thinking that after so great and so bold an iniquity, he would spare none, but behave himself toward all, and in all matters, as one who had abandoned all regard for his life.

- 28 The Thebans, when they heard the news, were much enraged, and despatched an army, Epaminondas being then in disgrace, under the command of other leaders. The tyrant brought Pelopidas to Phæræ, and at first permitted those that desired it to speak with him, imagining that this disaster would break his spirit, and make him appear contemptible. But when Pelopidas advised the bewailing Phæræans to be comforted, as if the tyrant was now certain in a short time to smart for his injuries, and sent to tell him, that *it was absurd daily to torment and murder his wretched innocent subjects, and yet spare him, who, he well knew, if ever he got his liberty, would be bitterly revenged.* The tyrant, wondering at his boldness and freedom of speech, replied, "And why is Pelopidas in haste to die?" He, hearing of it, rejoined, "That you may be the sooner ruined, being then more hated by the gods than now."

From that time he forbade any to converse with him ; but Thebe, the daughter of Jason and wife of Alexander, hearing from the keepers of the bravery and noble behaviour of Pelopidas, had a great desire to see and speak with him. Now when she came into the prison, and, as a woman, could not at once discern his greatness in his calamity, but only judged by the meanness of his attire and general appearance that he was used basely and not befitting a man of his reputation, she wept. Pelopidas, at first not knowing who she was, stood amazed ; but when he understood, saluted her by her father's name (Jason and he having been friends and familiars), and she saying, " I pity your wife, sir," he replied, " And I you, who though not in chains, can endure Alexander." This touched the woman, who already hated Alexander for his cruelty and injustice, for his general debaucheries, and for his abuse of her youngest brother. She therefore often went to Pelopidas, and speaking freely of the wrongs she suffered, grew more and more possessed with feelings of resentment and of scorn and detestation of Alexander.

The Theban generals that were sent into Thessaly did 29 nothing, but, being either unskilful or unfortunate, made a dishonourable retreat, for which the city fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and sent Epaminondas with their forces. The Thessalians, inspired by the fame of this general, at once were in commotion, and the tyrant's affairs came to the very verge of destruction ; so great was the fear that possessed his captains and his friends, and so eager the desire of his subjects to revolt, and so keen their hopes of at last seeing his punishment. But Epaminondas, more solicitous for the

Epami-
nondas
in Thes-
saly.

safety of Pelopidas than his own glory, and fearing that if things came to extremity, Alexander would grow desperate, and, like a wild beast, turn and worry him, did not prosecute the war to the utmost; but, hovering still over him with his army, he so handled the tyrant as not to give the rein to his self-conceit and audacity, and yet, on the other hand, not to drive him to despair and fury. He was aware of his savageness, and the little value he had for right and justice, insomuch that sometimes he had buried men alive, and sometimes dressed them in bears' and boars' skins, and then baited them with dogs, or shot at them for his diversion. At Melibœa and Scotussa, two cities at peace and amity with him, he called all the inhabitants to an assembly, and then surrounded them and cut them to pieces with his guards. He consecrated the spear with which he killed his uncle Polyphron, and, crowning it with garlands, sacrificed to it as a god, and called it Tychon. Once seeing a tragedian act in Euripides's Troades, he left the theatre; and sending for the actor, bade him not to be concerned at his departure, but act as he had been used to do, as it was not in contempt of him that he had gone out, but because he was ashamed that his citizens should see him, who never pitied any man that he murdered, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache. This tyrant, however, alarmed at the very name, report, and appearance of an expedition under the conduct of Epaminondas, presently

Dropped like the craven cock his conquered wing,

and sent an embassy to entreat and offer satisfaction. Epaminondas refused to admit such a man as an ally to

the Thebans, but granted him a truce of thirty days, and, Pelopidas and Ismenias being delivered up, returned home.

The Thebans, understanding that the Spartans and Athenians had sent an embassy to the king of Persia for assistance, themselves likewise sent Pelopidas; greatly to the increase of his glory, as his fame and reputation went with him wherever he passed through the provinces of the king. The glory that he had won in conflict with the Spartans, had not crept slowly into Asia or found its way to a little distance; but, after the first fame of the battle at Leuctra had gone abroad, the report of new victories continually following, had increased and spread his celebrity far and near. And when he came before satraps and generals and commanders at the court, he was at once the object of their

30
Theban
embassy
to Per-
sia, pro-
bably
B.C. 367.



A Persian dignitary. (From the sculptures at Persepolis.)

wonder and discourse. "This is the man," they said, "who has beaten the Lacedæmonians from sea and land, and confined that Sparta within Taygetus and Eurotas,

which, but a little before, under the conduct of Agelilaus, was entering upon a war with the great king about Susa and Ecbatana." All this was a matter of satisfaction to Artaxerxes, and he was the more inclined to show Pelopidas attention and honour, as he desired to seem to be revered, and attended by the greatest of mankind. But when he saw him and heard his discourse, more solid than the Athenians, and not so haughty as the Spartans, his regard was heightened, and, truly acting like a king, he openly showed the respect that he felt for him; and let the other ambassadors perceive it. Of all other Greeks he had been thought to have done Antalcidas, the Spartan, the greatest honour, by sending him that garland dipped in an unguent, which he himself had worn at an entertainment. Indeed, he did not deal so delicately with Pelopidas, but, according to the custom, gave him the most splendid and considerable presents, and confirmed his demands, that the Greeks should be independent, Messenia inhabited, and the Thebans accounted the king's hereditary friends. With these answers he returned, not accepting one of the presents, except what was a pledge of kindness and good-will: much to the ill-repute and prejudice of the other envoys, who were there from the Greeks. For the Athenians condemned and executed their Timagoras; and, indeed, if they did it for his having received so many presents from the king, their sentence was just and good: as he not only took gold and silver, but a rich bed, and slaves to make it, as if the Greeks were unskilful in that art; besides eighty cows and herdsmen, professing he needed cow's milk for some distemper; and, lastly, he was carried in a litter

to the seaside, with a present of four talents for his attendants. But the Athenians, perhaps, were not irritated so much at his greediness for the presents. For Epicrates, the baggage-carrier*, not only confessed to the people that he had received gifts from the king, but made a motion, that *instead of nine archons, they should yearly choose nine poor citizens* to be sent ambassadors to the king, and enriched by his presents, and the people only laughed at the joke. But they were vexed that the Thebans had obtained their desires, never considering that Pelopidas's fame was more powerful than all their rhetorical discourse, with a man who still inclined to the victorious in arms.

This embassy, having obtained the restitution of 31 Messenia, and the independence of the other Greeks, got Pelopidas a great deal of good-will at his return. But Alexander the Pheræan falling back to his old nature, and having seized many of the Thessalian cities, and put garrisons upon the Achæans of Phthiotis and the Magnesians, the cities, hearing that Pelopidas was returned, sent an embassy to Thebes, requesting succours, and him for their leader. The Thebans willingly granted their desire; and now when all things were prepared, and the general beginning to march, the sun was eclipsed, and darkness spread over the city in the day time, and when Pelopidas saw them startled at the prodigy, he did not think it fit to put

* *Scutophorus*, baggage-carrier; but according to a probable conjecture, *saktesphoros*, shield-carrier. Epicrates, who was a prominent politician at Athens, and had taken part in the expulsion of the Thirty tyrants, was ridiculed by the comedians for his huge broad beard, which spread out like a shield before his body.

New expedition into Thessaly, 364 or 363, B.C.

force on men who were afraid and out of heart, nor to hazard seven thousand of his citizens; and therefore with only three hundred horse-volunteers and mercenary soldiers, set forward himself to Thessaly, against the wishes of the augurs and of his fellow-citizens in general, who all imagined this marked portent to have reference to this great man. But he was heated against Alexander for the injuries he had received, and hoped likewise, from the discourse which formerly he had with Thebe, that his family by this time was divided and in disorder. But the glory of the expedition chiefly excited him; for he was extremely desirous at this time, when the Lacedæmonians were sending out military officers to assist Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant, and the Athenians took Alexander's pay, and honoured him with a brazen statue as a benefactor, that the Thebans should be seen, alone of all the Greeks, undertaking the cause of those who were oppressed by tyrants, and destroying the violent and illegal forms of government in Greece.

32 When Pelopidas was come to Pharsalus, he formed an army, and presently marched against Alexander; and Alexander understanding that Pelopidas had few Thebans with him, and that his own infantry was double the number of the Thessalians, faced him at Thetidium. Some one told Pelopidas, "The tyrant meets us with a great army." "So much the better," he replied, "for then we shall overcome the more." Between the two armies lay some steep high hills about Cynoscephalæ, which both parties endeavoured to take by their foot. Pelopidas commanded his horse, which were good and many, to charge that of the ene-

Battle
at Cy-
nosce-
phalæ.

mies; they routed and pursued them through the plain. But Alexander meantime took the hills, and charging the Thessalian foot that came up later, and strove to climb the steep and difficult ascent, killed the foremost, and the others, much distressed, could do the enemies no harm. Pelopidas, observing this, sounded a retreat to his horse, and gave orders that they should charge the enemies that here kept their ground; and he himself, taking his shield, hastily joined those who were fighting about the hills, and, making his way to the front, filled his men with such courage and alacrity, that the enemies imagined they came with other spirits and other bodies to the combat. They stood two or three charges, but finding these come on stoutly, and the horse also returning from the pursuit, gave ground, and retreated in order. Pelopidas now perceiving from the high ground that the enemy's army was, though not yet routed, full of disorder and confusion, stood and looked about for Alexander; and when he saw him in the right wing, encouraging and ordering his mercenaries, he did not let reflection control his anger, but fired at the sight, and following his passion, regardless alike of his own life and his command, hurried out far before his soldiers, crying out and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to receive him, but retreating, hid himself amongst his guard. The foremost of the mercenaries that came hand to hand were driven back by Pelopidas, and some killed; but many at a distance shot through his armour and wounded him, till the Thessalians, in anxiety for the result, ran down from the hill to his relief, but found him already slain. The horse came up also, and put

the whole phalanx to flight, and following the pursuit a great way, filled the whole country with the slain, which were above three thousand.

- 33 No one can wonder that the Thebans then present, should show great grief at the death of Pelopidas, calling him *their father, deliverer, and instructor in all that was good and commendable*. But the Thessalians and the allies, out-doing in their public edicts all the just honours that could be paid to human courage, gave, in their display of feeling, yet stronger demonstrations of the kindness they had for him. It is stated, that none of the soldiers, when they heard of his death, would put off their armour, unbridle their horses, or dress their wounds, but still hot and with their arms on, ran to the corpse, and, as if he had been yet alive and could see what they did, heaped up spoils about his body. They cut off their horses' manes and their own hair, many kindled no fire in their tents, took no supper, and silence and sadness was spread over all the army; as if they had not gained the greatest and most glorious victory, but were overcome by the tyrant, and enslaved. As soon as it was known in the cities, the magistrates, youths, children, and priests, came out to meet the body, and brought trophies, crowns, and suits of golden armour; and, when he was to be interred, the elders of the Thessalians came and begged the Thebans, that they might give the funeral; and one of them said; "Friends, we ask a favour of you, that will prove both an honour and comfort to us in this our great misfortune. The Thessalians shall never again wait on the living Pelopidas, never give honours, of which he can be sensible; but if we may have his

body, adorn his funeral, and inter him, we shall hope to show, that we esteem his death a greater loss to the Thessalians than to the Thebans. You have lost only a good general, we both a general and our liberty. For how shall we dare to desire from you another captain, since we cannot restore Pelopidas?"

The Thebans granted their request, and there was 34 never a more splendid funeral in the opinion of those who do not think the glory of such solemnities consists only in gold, ivory, and purple; as Philistus did, who extravagantly celebrates the funeral of Dionysius*, in which his tyranny concluded like the pompous exit of some great tragedy. Alexander the Great, at the death of Hephæstion, not only cut off the manes of his horses and his mules, but took down the battlements from the city walls, that even the towns might seem mourners, and, instead of their former beauteous appearance, look bald at his funeral. But such honours being commanded and forced from the mourners, attended with feelings of jealousy towards those who received them and of hatred towards those who exacted them, were no testimonies of love and respect, but of the barbaric pride, luxury, and insolence of those who lavished their wealth in these vain and undesirable displays. But that a man of common rank, dying in a strange country, neither his wife, children, nor kinsmen present, none either asking or compelling it, should be attended, buried, and crowned by so many cities that strove to exceed one another in the demonstrations of their love, seems to be the sum and completion of happy fortune.

* Dionysius the elder, the famous tyrant of Syracuse, died a little before this, B.C. 367.

For the death of happy men is not, as *Æsop* thought, most grievous, but most blessed, since it establishes their past felicities, and puts them out of fortune's power. And the Spartan advised well, who, embracing *Diagoras*, that had himself been crowned in the Olympic games, and saw his sons and grandchildren victors, said, "Die, *Diagoras*, for thou canst not be a god." And yet who would compare all the victories in the Pythian and Olympic games put together, with one of those enterprises of *Pelopidas*, of which he successfully performed so many? Having spent his life in brave and glorious actions, he died at last in the chief command, for the thirteenth time, of the *Bœotians**, fighting bravely and in the act of slaying a tyrant, in defence of the liberty of the *Thessalians*.

- 35 His death, as it brought grief, so likewise it produced advantage to the allies; for the *Thebans*, as soon as they heard of his fall, delayed not their revenge, but presently sent seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse, under the command of *Malcitas* and *Diogiton*. And they, finding *Alexander* weak and without forces, compelled him to restore to the *Thessalians* the cities he had taken, to withdraw his garrisons from the *Magnesians* and *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, and swear to assist the *Thebans* against whatsoever enemies they should require. This contented the *Thebans*; but let me add the account of

* He died, that is, in his thirteenth *Bœotarchship*. No long time after, at the second battle of *Mantineæ*, B.C. 362, died *Epaminondas*, of whom likewise there was a life by *Plutarch*, which has been lost; and one year after this, B.C. 361, the Spartan king, *Agésilas*. The date of the death of *Alexander* of *Phæræ*, related in the next chapter, B.C. 359, is that also of the accession of *Philip* of *Macedon*.

the punishment which not long after overtook the tyrant for his wickedness, and avenged the death of Pelopidas. Pelopidas, as I have already mentioned, had taught Alexander's wife Thebe not to fear the outward splendour and show of the tyrant's defences, since she was admitted within them. She of herself too dreaded his inconstancy, and hated his cruelty; and, therefore, conspiring with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, made the following attempt upon him. All the other apartments were full of the tyrant's night-guards, but their bed-chamber was an upper room, and before the door lay a chained dog to guard it, which would fly at all but the tyrant and his wife and one servant that fed him. When Thebe therefore designed to make the attempt, she hid her brothers all day in a room hard by, and she, going in alone, according to her usual custom, to Alexander, who was asleep already, in a little time came out again, and commanded the servant to lead away the dog, for Alexander wished to rest quietly. She herself covered the stairs with wool, that the young men might make no noise as they came up; and then, bringing up her brothers with their weapons, and leaving them at the chamber door, she went in, and brought away the tyrant's sword that hung over his head, and showed it them for a confirmation that he was fast asleep. The young men appearing fearful, and unwilling to do the murder, she chid them, and angrily vowed she would awake Alexander, and discover the conspiracy; and so, with a lamp in her hand, she conducted them in, they being both ashamed and afraid, and brought them to the bed; when one of them caught him by the feet, the

Death
of Alex-
ander
of Phe-
ræ, B.C.
359.

other pulled him backward by the hair, and the third ran him through. The death was more speedy, perhaps, than was fit ; but, in that he was the first tyrant that was killed by the contrivance of his wife, and as his corpse was abused, thrown out, and trodden under foot by the Pheræans, he seems to have suffered what his villainies deserved.



Greek horseman. (From the Parthenon frieze.)

TIMOLEON.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.



Aërocorinthus.

It was for the sake of others that I first commenced writing biographies ; but I find myself going on and attaching myself to it for my own ; the virtues of these great men serving me as a sort of looking-glass, in which I may see how, more or less, to adjust and adorn my own life. Indeed, it can be compared to nothing but a daily living and associating together ; we receive, as it were, in our inquiry, and entertain each successive guest ; view

*His stature and his qualities**,

* From the last book of the Iliad (xxiv. 609). As they sat at meat together in the tent, after Achilles had consented to give Priam Hector's body, *Priam son of Dardanus eyed Achilles, admiring his stature and his qualities, and his appearance as it were of a god, and Achilles in turn looked with wonder on Priam.*

and select from his actions all that is noblest and worthiest to know.

Ah me!

*Than this what greater pleasure could there be?**

or, what more effective means to one's moral improvement? Democritus tells us we ought to pray that of the phantasms appearing in the circumambient air such may present themselves to us as are propitious, and that we may rather meet with those that are agreeable to our natures and are good, than the evil and unfortunate; which is simply introducing into philosophy a doctrine untrue in itself and leading to endless superstitions. My method on the contrary is, by the study of history and by the familiarity acquired in writing, to habituate my memory to receive and retain images of the best and worthiest characters. I thus am enabled to free myself from any ignoble, malicious, or sordid impressions contracted from the contagion of ill company, which I may be unavoidably engaged in, by the remedy of turning my thoughts in a happy and calm temper to view these noble examples. Of this kind are those of Timoleon the Corinthian, and of Æmilius Paulus, with whom among the Romans I shall compare him; men who were both of them famous for their virtues alike and their successes, and who have left it doubtful whether they owed their

** To come to shore, and in one's house again*

Lie still and listen to the falling rain.

It is a fragment of Sophocles, found more complete elsewhere. The last line and a half are quoted in a letter of Cicero's.

greatest achievements to their prosperous fortune or to their prudence and conduct.

The affairs of the Syracusans before Timoleon was sent into Sicily were in this posture. After Dion had driven out Dionysius the tyrant, he was in a very short time slain by treachery, and those who had assisted him in delivering Syracuse were divided among themselves. And thus the city by a continual change of governors and a train of mischiefs that succeeded each other, became almost abandoned; while of the rest of Sicily part was now utterly depopulated and desolate through long continuance of war, and most of the cities that had been left standing were in the hands of mixed barbarians and of soldiers out of employment, who were ready to embrace every turn of government. Such being the state of things, Dionysius takes the opportunity, and in the tenth year of his banishment, by the help of some mercenary troops he had got together, forces out Nysæus, then master of Syracuse, recovers all afresh, and was again settled in his dominion: and as at first he had been strangely deprived of the greatest and most absolute power that ever was by a very small party, so now in a yet stranger manner, when in exile and of mean condition, he became the sovereign of those who had ejected him. All therefore that remained in Syracuse had to serve under a tyrant, who at the best was of an ungente nature, and exasperated now to a degree of savageness by the misfortunes he had suffered. The better and more distinguished citizens, having retired to Hicetes ruler of Leontini, had put themselves under his protection, and

Expulsion of Dionysius the Younger by Dion, B.C. 356. Death of Dion, B.C. 353.

Return of Dionysius to Syracuse, B.C. 347.

chosen him for their leader in the war; not that he was really preferable to any open and avowed tyrant, but they had no other refuge at present, and it gave them some ground of confidence, that he was of a Syracusan family, and had forces able to encounter those of Dionysius.

Em-
bassy
of the
Sicilian
Greeks
to Co-
rinth.

- 2 In the mean time the Carthaginians appeared before Sicily with a great navy, watching when and where they might make a descent; and terror at this fleet made the Siceliots* send envoys into Greece to ask for succours from the Corinthians, whom they confided in rather than others, not only upon account of their near relationship and the great benefits they had often received by trusting them, but because Corinth had ever shown herself attached to freedom and averse from tyranny, and had engaged in her greatest and most numerous wars, not for empire or aggrandisement, but for the sole liberty of the Greeks. But Hicetas, who made it the business of his command not so much to deliver the Syracusans from other tyrants, as to enslave them to himself, had already entered into some secret conferences with the Carthaginians. In public however he commended the design of the Syracusans, and joined his own name with theirs in the embassy sent to Peloponnesus. Not that he really desired any relief to come from there, but in case the Corinthians, as was likely enough on account of the troubles of Greece and occupation at home, should refuse their assistance, he

* Siceliots is the name for the Sicilian Greeks, the people of the Greek colonies planted in Sicily, of the greater number of which the mother city was Corinth.

hoped he should be able with less difficulty to dispose and incline things for the Carthaginian interest, and so make use of these foreign pretenders, as instruments and auxiliaries for himself, either against the Syracusans or Dionysius, as occasion served. This was discovered a while after.

The envoys being arrived and their request made known, the Corinthians, who had always a great concern for all their colonies, but especially for Syracuse, since by good fortune there was nothing to molest them at home in Greece, where they were enjoying peace and leisure at that time*, readily and with one accord passed a vote for their assistance. And when they were deliberating about the choice of a captain for the expedition, and the magistrates were proposing various aspirants for reputation, one of the crowd stood up and named Timoleon the son of Timodemus, who had long absented himself from public business, and had neither any thoughts of nor the least pretension to an employment of that nature. Some god or other, it might rather seem, had put it in the man's heart to mention him; such favour and good-will on the part of fortune seemed at once to attend his election, and to accompany all his following actions, as though it were on purpose to commend his worth and add grace and ornament to his personal virtues. As regards his parentage, both Timo-

* The Phocian war, which had been the great disturbance of Greece after the end of the conflict between Thebes and Sparta, and which lasted ten years, had been brought to a conclusion just before, in B.C. 346, and Philip of Macedon also was at peace with the Greeks.

demus his father and his mother Demariste were of high rank in the city; and as for himself, he was noted for his love of his country, and his gentleness of temper, except in his extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were so happily and evenly tempered, that while a rare prudence might be seen in all the enterprises of his younger years, an equal courage showed itself in the last exploits of his declining age. He had an elder brother whose name was Timophanes, who was every way unlike him, being indiscreet and rash, and infected by the suggestions of some evil friends and mercenary soldiers, who were always about him, with a passion for absolute power. He seemed to have a certain vehemence in all military service, and even to delight in dangers, and thus he took much with the people, and was advanced to the highest charges, as a vigorous and effective warrior; in the obtaining of which offices and promotions Timoleon much assisted him, helping to conceal or at least to extenuate his errors, embellishing by his praise whatever was commendable in him, and setting off his good qualities to the best advantage.

- 4 In the battle fought by the Corinthians against the forces of Argos and Cleonæ*, Timoleon was serving in the infantry, when Timophanes, commanding their cavalry, was brought into extreme danger; as his horse was wounded and fell forward, and threw him headlong amongst the enemies, while part of his companions dispersed at once in a panic, and the small number that remained, having to fight against a multitude, could with

* An unknown battle.

difficulty maintain any resistance. As soon, therefore, as Timoleon was aware of what had happened, he ran up to his brother's rescue, and covering the fallen Timophanes with his shield, after having received abundance of darts, and several strokes hand to hand upon his body and his armour, he at length with much trouble obliged the enemies to retire, and brought off his brother alive and safe. But when the Corinthians, for fear of losing their city a second time, as they had once before, by admitting their allies*, made a decree to maintain four hundred mercenaries for its security, and gave Timophanes the command over them, he, abandoning all regard to honour and equity, at once proceeded to put into execution his plans for making himself absolute, and having cut off many principal citizens uncondemned and without trial, he declared himself tyrant of Corinth; a procedure that infinitely afflicted Timoleon, to whom the wickedness of such a brother appeared to be his own reproach and calamity. He tried to persuade him by reasoning to abandon that wild and unhappy ambition, and bethink himself how to make his countrymen some amends, and to remedy the evils he had done them. And when his single admonition was rejected and contemned by him, he makes a second attempt, taking with him Æschylus, brother to the wife of Timophanes, and a certain diviner, who was of their friends, whom Theopompus in his history calls Satyrus, but Ephorus and Timæus mention by the name of Orthagoras. After a few days then he

* The Athenians; in a war which they were carrying on together against Thebes, a little before the death of Pelopidas.

returns to his brother with this company, all three of them surrounding and earnestly importuning him, that now at length he would listen to reason. But when Timophanes began first to laugh at the men's simplicity, and presently broke out into rage and indignation against them, Timoleon stepped aside from him and stood weeping with his face covered, while the other two, drawing out their swords, dispatched him in a moment.

- 5 When this act became publicly known, the better and more generous of the Corinthians applauded Timoleon for the hatred of wrong and the greatness of soul, that had made him, though of a gentle disposition and full of love and kindness for his family, think the obligations to his country stronger than the ties of consanguinity, and prefer honour and justice to private interest and advantage. For the same brother, who with so much bravery had been saved by him when he fought valiantly in the cause of Corinth, he had now as nobly sacrificed for enslaving her afterwards by a base and treacherous usurpation. But on the other side, those who knew not how to live under popular government, and had been used to make their court to absolute rulers, though openly they professed to rejoice at the death of the tyrant, nevertheless secretly reviling Timoleon, as one that had committed an impious and abominable act, drove him into melancholy and dejection. And when, in addition to this, he learnt how heavily his mother took it, and that she uttered vehement complaints and terrible imprecations against him, and on his going to satisfy and comfort her, found that she would not so much as see him, but caused her doors to

be shut against him, with grief at this he grew so disordered in his mind and so disconsolate, that he determined to put an end to his life by abstaining from sustenance. But through the care of his friends, who were very instant with him, and added force to their entreaties, he came to resolve and promise at last, that he would endure living, provided it might be in solitude and away from the world: so that, quitting all civil and political business, for a long while after his first retirement he never came into Corinth, but spent his time in the country, wandering about in the least frequented places, full of distressing and sorrowful thoughts.

So true it is, that the minds of men are easily shaken 6 and carried off from their own sentiments through any casual commendation or reproof of others, unless the judgments they make, and the purposes they conceive, are confirmed by reason and philosophy, and hence obtain strength and steadiness. An action must not only be just and laudable in its own nature, but it must proceed likewise from solid conviction and a lasting principle, that so we may fully and constantly approve the thing, and be perfectly satisfied in what we do. For otherwise, after having put our resolution into practice, we shall out of weakness be troubled at the performance, when the grace which made it pleasing to us begins to decay and wear out of our fancy: like greedy people, who seizing on the more delicious morsels with the keenest appetite, are quickly sated, and feel disgust at what at first they so eagerly desired. For a succeeding repentance spoils the best of actions; whereas the choice that is founded upon knowledge and wise reasoning

does not change or lose its place and character, even though the actual issue appear to go against it. Thus Phocion of Athens, having always opposed the measures of Leosthenes*, when success appeared to attend them and he saw his countrymen rejoicing and offering sacrifice in honour of their victory, told them, "I should have been glad to have gained these successes myself, and I am glad in any case to have given you the advice I gave you." A more vehement reply is recorded to have been made by Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato's companions, to Dionysius the elder, who demanded one of his daughters in marriage: "I had rather," he said to him, "see the maiden in her grave, than in the palace of a tyrant." And when Dionysius put his sons to death some time after, and then again insultingly asked, whether he were still in the same mind as to the disposal of his daughters, his answer was, *that he was grieved for what had been done, but had no change to make in what he had said.* Such a temper as this may perhaps however belong to a more sublime and transcendent virtue.

- 7 The grief of Timoleon, whether it arose from commiseration of his brother's fate, or the reverence he felt for his mother, so shattered and broke his spirits, that for the space of almost twenty years, he had not offered to concern himself in any honourable or public action. When therefore he was nominated for general, and joyfully accepted as such by the suffrages of the people, Teleclides, who was at that time the most powerful and distinguished man in Corinth, began to exhort him that

* In the Lamian war, after Alexander's death. See the life of Demosthenes, Chap. 27.

he would act now like a man of worth and courage: "For," said he, "if you do bravely in this service, people will say we killed a tyrant; but if otherwise, a brother."* While he was yet preparing to set sail, and enlisting soldiers to embark with him, there came letters to the Corinthians from Hicetes, plainly disclosing his revolt and treachery. For the envoys had no sooner started for Corinth, but he openly joined the Carthaginians, negotiating that they might assist him to throw out Dionysius, and become master of Syracuse in his room. And fearing he might be disappointed of his aim, if troops and a commander should come from Corinth before this were effected, he sent a letter of advice thither, to prevent their setting out, telling them *they need not be at any cost and trouble, or run the hazard of a Sicilian voyage*, since the Carthaginians, alliance with whom against Dionysius the slowness of their motions had compelled him to embrace, would dispute their passage, and were lying in wait to attack them with a numerous fleet. This letter being publicly read, if any had been cold and indifferent before as to the expedition in hand, the indignation they now conceived against Hicetes so inflamed them all, that they willingly contributed to supply Timoleon, and endeavoured with one accord to hasten his departure.

When the vessels were equipped, and his soldiers every way provided for, the female priests of Proserpine had a dream or vision, wherein she and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and were heard to say, that they were going to sail with Timoleon

* So that it seems that Teleclides had been himself a party to the death of Timoleon's brother.

Departure
from
Cor-
cyra,
B.C. 345
or 344.

into Sicily ; whereupon the Corinthians, having built a sacred galley, devoted it to them, and called it the galley of the goddesses. Timoleon went in person to Delphi, where he sacrificed to Apollo, and, descending into the place of prophecy, received the following sign. A riband with crowns and figures of Victory embroidered upon it slipped off from among the gifts that were hung up in the temple, and fell upon his head ; so that Apollo seemed already to crown him with success, and send him thence to conquer and triumph. He put to sea with only seven ships of Corinth, two of Corcyra, and a tenth which was furnished by the Leucadians. And



Store-ship.

when he was now entered into the deep by night, and carried with a prosperous wind, the sky seemed on a sudden to break open, and a bright spreading flame to issue from it, and hover over the ship he was in ; then having formed itself into a torch, not unlike those that are used in the Mysteries, it took the very course they were steering, and came down in the very quarter in which the pilots expected to make the land of Italy. The soothsayers affirmed, that this apparition agreed with the dream of the women, since the goddesses were

now visibly joining in the expedition, and sending this light from heaven before them : Sicily being thought sacred to Proserpine, as poets feign that it was from thence she was carried away by Pluto, and that the island was at that time given her as a marriage present.

These early demonstrations of divine favour greatly ⁹ encouraged his men ; so that, making all the speed they were able, by a voyage across the open sea, they soon arrived upon the coast of Italy. But the tidings that came from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his soldiers. For Hicetes having already beaten Dionysius out of the field, and reduced most of the quarters of Syracuse itself, now hemmed him in and besieged him in the citadel and what is called the Island, whither he was fled for his last refuge ; while the Carthaginians by agreement were to make it their business to hinder Timoleon from landing in any port of Sicily ; so that he and his party being driven back, they might with ease and at their own leisure divide the island among themselves. In pursuance of which design the Carthaginians sent away twenty of their galleys to Rhegium, having aboard them certain envoys from Hicetes to Timoleon, who carried instructions suitable to those proceedings, specious amusements and plausible stories, to colour and conceal dishonest purposes. They had orders to propose and demand that Timoleon himself, if he liked, should come to advise with Hicetes, and partake of the benefits of the victory, which was in fact already won, but that he should send back his ships and forces to Corinth, since the war was in a manner finished, and the Carthaginians had blocked up

the passage, determined to oppose them if they should try to force their way towards the shore. When therefore the Corinthians met with these envoys at Rhegium, and received their message, and saw the Phœnician vessels riding at anchor off the port, they became keenly sensible of the abuse that was put upon them, and felt a general indignation against Hicetes, and great apprehensions for the Siceliots, whom they now plainly perceived to be as it were a prize and recompense to Hicetes on one side for his perfidy, and to the Carthaginians on the other for the sovereign power they secured to him. But it seemed utterly impossible to force and overbear the Carthaginian ships that lay before them, and were double their number, and also to vanquish the victorious troops which Hicetes had with him in Syracuse, to take the lead of which very troops they had undertaken their voyage.

- 10 The case being thus, Timoleon, after some quiet conference with the envoys of Hicetes and the Carthaginian captains, told them *he should submit to their proposals; (to what purpose would it be to refuse compliance?)* he was desirous only before his return to Corinth, that what had passed between them in private might be stated to him publicly before the people of Rhegium, a Greek city, and a common friend to the parties; *this, he said, would very much conduce to his own security and discharge; and they likewise would more strictly observe their promises on behalf of the Syracusans, if these were made in the presence of a whole people.* The design of all which was only to divert their attention, while he got an opportunity of slipping away from their fleet: a contrivance which

all the Rhegian magistrates were privy and assisting to who had a great desire that the affairs of Sicily should fall into Corinthian hands, and dreaded the consequences of having barbarian neighbours so near them. An assembly was therefore called, and the gates shut, that the citizens might have no liberty to turn to other business; and a succession of speakers came forward, addressing the people at great length, all to the same effect, without bringing the subject to any conclusion, making way each for another, and purposely spinning out the time, till the Corinthian galleys should get clear of the haven; the Carthaginian commanders being detained there without any suspicion, as also Timoleon still remained present, and gave signs as if he were just preparing to make an oration. But upon secret notice that the rest of the galleys were already gone off, and that his alone remained waiting for him, by the help and concealment of those Rhegians, who were about the speaker's stand and favoured his departure, he made shift to slip away through the crowd, and, running down to the port, set sail with all speed; and having reached his other vessels, they came all safe to Tauromenium in Sicily, whither they had been formerly invited, and where they were now kindly received by Andromachus, then ruler of the city. This man was father of Timæus the historian, and incomparably the best of all those that held sovereign power in Sicily at that time, governing his citizens according to law and justice, and openly professing an aversion and enmity to all tyrants; upon which account he gave Timoleon leave to collect his forces here and make it his starting place for the war,

and persuaded the inhabitants to join their arms with the Corinthians, and assist them in delivering Sicily.

- 11 But the Carthaginians who were left in Rhegium perceiving, when the assembly was dissolved, that Timoleon had given them the go-by, were not a little vexed to see themselves outwitted, much to the amusement of the Rhegians, who could not but smile to find Phœnicians complain of being cheated. However they despatched a messenger aboard one of their galleys to Tauromenium, who, after much blustering in the insolent barbaric way, and many menaces to Andromachus, if he did not forthwith send the Corinthians off, stretched out his hand with the inside upward, and then turning it down again, threatened that he *would treat their town even so, and turn it topsy-turvy like that*. Andromachus, laughing at the man's confidence, made no other reply, but, imitating his gesture, bid him hasten his own departure, unless he had a mind to see that kind of dexterity practised first upon the galley which brought him thither. Hicetes, when informed that Timoleon had made good his passage, was in great fear of what might follow, and sent to desire the Carthaginians, that a large number of galleys might be ordered to attend and secure the coast. And now it was that the Syracusans began wholly to despair of deliverance, seeing the Carthaginians possessed of their haven, Hicetes master of the town, and Dionysius supreme in the citadel; while Timoleon had as yet but a slender hold of Sicily, as it were by the fringe or border of it, in the petty town of the Tauromenians, with a feeble hope and a poor company; having but a thousand soldiers at the most, and no more provision

than was just necessary for the maintenance and the pay of that small number. Nor did the other towns of Sicily confide in him, overwhelmed as they were with troubles, and embittered against all that should offer to lead armies, by the previous treacherous conduct, chiefly, of Callippus an Athenian, and Pharax a Lacedæmonian captain, both of whom, after giving out that the design of their coming was to introduce liberty and depose tyrants, themselves so tyrannised, that the reign of former oppressors seemed to be a golden age in comparison, and people began to consider those more happy who had expired in servitude, than any that had lived to see such a dismal freedom.

Looking therefore for no better usage from the Corin- 12
thian general, but imagining that it was only the same old course of things once more, specious pretences and false professions, to allure them by fair hopes and kind promises into the service of a new master, they all with one accord, unless it were the people of Adranum, suspected the exhortations and rejected the overtures that were made them in his name. These were inhabitants of a small town, consecrated to Adranus, a certain god that was in high veneration throughout Sicily, and as it happened, they were then at variance among themselves, so that one party called in Hicetes and the Carthaginians to assist them, while the other sent proposals to Timoleon. It so befell, that these auxiliaries, striving which should be soonest, both arrived at Adranum about the same time; only Hicetes brought with him at least five thousand fighting men, while all the force Timoleon could make did not exceed twelve hundred. With these he marched out of Tauromenium,

which was about three hundred and forty furlongs distant from Adranum. The first day he moved but slowly, and took up his quarters betimes after a short journey; but the day following he quickened his pace, and, having passed through much difficult ground, towards evening received advice that Hicetes was just approaching Adranum and pitching his camp before it: upon which intelligence his captains and other officers caused the vanguard to halt, that the men having eaten something, and rested a while, might engage the enemy with better heart. But Timoleon, coming up in haste, desired them not to stop for that reason, but rather use all possible diligence to surprise the enemy, whom probably they would now find in disorder, as having lately ended their march, and being taken up at present in erecting tents and preparing supper; which he had no sooner said, but laying hold of his shield and putting himself in the front, he led them on as it were to certain victory. They all followed him full of confidence; and being now within less than thirty furlongs of Adranum, this distance they quickly traversed, and immediately fell in upon the enemy, who were seized with confusion, and began to retire at their first approaches; one consequence of which was, that there were not many more than three hundred slain, and about twice the number made prisoners. The camp and baggage however was all taken: and the Adranitans opening their gates, declared themselves for Timoleon, to whom they recounted, with a mixture of affright and admiration, how at the beginning of the encounter the gates of their temple flew open of their own accord, that the javelin also, which their god held

in his hand, was observed to tremble at the point, and that drops of sweat had been seen running down his face.

Prodigies these, that not only presaged the victory 18 then obtained, but were an omen, it seems, of future exploits, to which this first happy action gave the occasion. For now the neighbouring cities sent deputies, one upon another, to seek his friendship and make offer of their service: and Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, an experienced soldier and a wealthy ruler, made proposals of alliance with him. And, what was more than all, Dionysius himself being now grown desperate and wellnigh forced to surrender, despising Hicetes who had been thus shamefully baffled, and admiring the valour of Timoleon, found means to advertise him and his Corinthians that he should be content to deliver up himself and the citadel into their hands. Timoleon, gladly embracing this unlooked for advantage, sends away Euclides and Telemachus, two Corinthian captains, with four hundred men for the seizure and custody of the castle, with directions to enter not all at once, or in open view, that being impracticable so long as the enemy kept guard, but by stealth, and in small companies. And so they took possession of the fortress and the palace of the tyrants, with the stores and ammunition for maintaining the war. They found a good number of horses, every variety of engines, a multitude of darts, and heavy arms complete for seventy thousand men (a magazine that had been formed from ancient time), beside two thousand soldiers that were then with him, whom he gave up with the rest for Timoleon's service. Dionysius himself, putting his property abroad, and taking

Surrender of the Citadel by Dionysius to Timoleon, B.C. 343.

a few friends, sailed away unobserved by Hicetes, and being brought to the camp of Timoleon, there first appeared in the humble dress of a private person, and was shortly after sent to Corinth with a single ship and a small sum of money. Born and brought up in the most splendid and the most absolute of the tyrannical governments that ever was, which he held and kept for the space of ten years succeeding his father's death, he had, after Dion's expedition, spent twelve other years in a continual agitation of wars and contests and great variety of fortune, during which time the mischiefs he had committed were more than repaid by the ills he himself suffered; since he witnessed the deaths of his grown-up sons and the abuse of his daughters, and the wicked treatment of his sister and wife, who after being first exposed to all the lawless violence of their enemies, was then murdered with her children, and cast into the sea; the particulars of which are given in the life of Dion.*

- 14 Upon the news of his landing at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece who had not a curiosity to come and view the late tyrant, and say some words to him. Part, rejoicing at his disasters, were led thither out of mere spite and hatred, that they might have the pleasure of trampling on one whom fortune had cast to the ground; but others, letting their attention and their sympathy turn rather to the changes and revo-

* So far as can be made out, he succeeded his father B.C. 367, was attacked by Dion B.C. 357, and expelled 356. It was now B.C. 343. It is not quite clear how Plutarch means to count the twelve years of war and contest. After his first expulsion from Syracuse, Dionysius had lived chiefly at Locri in Italy, and here it was, on his departure, that his wife, who was also his half-sister, and his children were killed. This, however, is not told in the life of Dion.

lutions of his life, could not but see in them a proof of the strength and potency, with which divine and unseen causes operate amidst the weakness of human and visible things. For neither art nor nature did in that age produce any thing comparable to this work and wonder of fortune, which showed the very same man, that was not long before supreme monarch of Sicily, loitering about perhaps in the fish-market, or sitting in a perfumer's shop, drinking the diluted wine of taverns, or squabbling in the street with common women, or undertaking to instruct the singing women, and seriously disputing with them about the measure and harmony of pieces of music played in the theatres. Such behaviour on his part was variously criticised. He was thought by many to act thus out of pure compliance with his own natural indolent and vicious inclinations; while finer judges were of opinion, that he was playing a politic part, with a design to be contemned among them, and that the Corinthians might not feel any apprehension or suspicion of his being uneasy under his reverse of fortune or solicitous to retrieve it; to avoid which dangers, he purposely and against his nature affected an appearance of folly and want of spirit in his private life and amusements.

However it be, there are sayings and repartees of his 15 left still upon record, which seem to show that he not ignobly accommodated himself to his present circumstances. As may appear in part from the ingenueness of the avowal he made on coming to Leucas, which as well as Syracuse was a Corinthian colony, where he told the inhabitants, that he *found himself not unlike boys who have been in fault, who can talk cheerfully*

with their brothers, but are ashamed to see their father ; so likewise he, he said, could gladly reside with them in that island, whereas he felt a certain awe which made him averse to the sight of Corinth, the common mother to them both. And there is further evidence in the reply he once made to a stranger in Corinth, who deriding him in a rude and scornful manner about the conferences he used to have with philosophers, whose company had been one of his pleasures while yet a monarch, and demanding in fine, *what he was the better now for all those wise and learned discourses of Plato :* "Do you think," said he, "I have had no profit from his philosophy when you see me bear my change of fortune as I do?" And when Aristoxenus the musician and several others desired to know how Plato offended him, and what had been the ground of his displeasure with him, he made answer, *that of the many evils attaching to the condition of sovereignty the one greatest infelicity was, that none of those who were accounted friends would venture to speak freely or tell the plain truth ; and that by means of such he had been deprived of Plato's kindness.* At another time, when some one, desirous to show his wit, in mockery to Dionysius, as if he were still the tyrant, shook out the folds of his cloak, as he was entering the room where he was*, Dionysius by way of retort observed, that he would prefer he should do so on leaving the room, as a security that he was carrying nothing off with him. And when Philip of Macedon at a drinking party began to speak in banter about the verses and tragedies which his

* To show he had no concealed arms upon his person, and had no intention of playing the assassin. Dionysius retorts that he would do better to prove that he was not a thief.

father Dionysius the elder, had left behind him, and pretended to wonder how he could get any time from his other business to compose these pieces, he replied very much to the purpose, "It was at those leisurable hours, which you and I and other happy livers bestow upon our cups." Plato had not the opportunity to see Dionysius at Corinth, being already dead before he came thither; but Diogenes of Sinope, at their first meeting there, saluted him with the ambiguous expression, "O Dionysius, how little you deserve your present life!" Upon which Dionysius stopped and replied, "I thank you, Diogenes, for your condolence." "Condole with you," replied Diogenes; "do you not suppose that on the contrary I am indignant that such a slave as you, who, if you had your due, should have been let alone to grow old, and die in the state of tyranny, as your father did before you, should now enjoy the ease of private persons, and be here to sport and play in our society." So that when I compare these stories on the one side, with the mournful tales of Philistus about the daughters of Leptines*, where he makes his lament upon their fall from all the blessings and advantages of greatness to the miseries of an humble life, they seem to me like the outcries of a woman who has lost her box of ointment, her purple dresses, and her golden trinkets. Such anecdotes will not, I conceive, be thought out of place in a biography, or unprofitable in themselves, by readers who are not pressed for time, or much occupied with business.

* This Leptines was the brother of Dionysius the elder, who sent him into exile. Philistus, the Silician historian, who was killed fighting for the younger Dionysius against Dion, had himself married one of the daughters.

- 16 But if the disaster of Dionysius appear strange and extraordinary, we shall have no less reason to wonder at the good fortune of Timoleon, who, within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, both recovered the citadel of Syracuse and sent Dionysius an exile into Peloponnesus. This happy beginning so animated the Corinthians, that they ordered him a supply of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, who, reaching Thurii, intended to cross over thence into Sicily. But finding the whole sea beset with Carthaginian ships, which made their passage impracticable, they were constrained to stop there and watch their opportunity: which time however was employed in a noble action. For the Thurians, going out to war against their Bruttian enemies, left their city in charge with the Corinthian strangers, who defended it as carefully as if it had been their own country, and faithfully resigned it up again. Hicetes in the interim continued still to besiege the castle of Syracuse, and hindered all provisions from coming in by sea to relieve the Corinthians that were in it. He had engaged also and despatched to Adranum, two foreigners to assassinate Timoleon, who at no time kept any standing guard about his person, and was then altogether secure, diverting himself without any apprehension among the citizens of the place, it being a festival in honour of their god. The two men that were sent, having casually heard that Timoleon was about to sacrifice, came into the temple with daggers under their cloaks, and pressing in among the crowd, by little and little got up near the altar; but, as they were just looking for a sign from each other to begin the attempt, a third person struck one of them over the head with a sword. Upon whose sudden fall,

neither he that gave the blow, nor the companion of him that received it, kept quiet any longer; but the one, making off with his sword, put no stop to his flight, till he gained the top of a high rock, while the other, laying hold of the altar, besought Timoleon to spare his life, and he would reveal to him the whole conspiracy. His pardon being granted, he confessed that both himself and his dead companion were sent thither purposely to slay him. While this discovery was made, he that killed the other conspirator had been fetched down from his sanctuary of the rock, loudly protesting, as he came along, that there was no injustice in the fact, as he *had only taken righteous vengeance for his father's blood*, whom this man had murdered before in the city of Leontini; the truth of which was attested by several there present, not without wonder too at this strange dexterity of fortune's operations, the facility with which she makes one event the spring and motion to something wholly different, collecting the most scattered accidents and remote particulars, and interweaving them together to serve her purposes: so that things that in themselves seem to have no connection or interdependence whatsoever, become in her hands the end and beginning of each other. The Corinthians, satisfied as to the innocence of the act, honoured and rewarded the author with a present of ten minæ, since he had, as it were, lent the use of his just resentment to the tutelar genius that seemed to be protecting Timoleon, and had not pre-extended this anger, so long ago conceived, but had reserved and deferred, under fortune's guidance, for his preservation, the revenge of a private quarrel.

And indeed this fortunate escape had effects beyond the present, as it inspired high hopes and expectations of Timoleon, whom every one now felt bound to revere and protect as a sacred person sent by heaven to avenge and redeem Sicily.

- 17 Hicetes, having missed his aim in this enterprise, and perceiving also that many went off and sided with Timoleon, began to chide himself for his foolish modesty, that, when so large a force of the Carthaginians lay ready to be commanded by him, he had employed them hitherto by degrees and in small numbers, introducing their reinforcements by stealth and clandestinely, as if he had been ashamed of the action. Therefore now, laying aside his scruples, he calls in Mago their admiral with his whole navy, who presently came in and seized the port with a formidable fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels, landing there sixty thousand foot, which were all lodged within the city of Syracuse: so that in all men's belief the time anciently talked of and long expected, wherein *Sicily should be subjugated by barbarians*, was now come in its appointed course. For in all their preceding many wars and repeated conflicts in Sicily the Carthaginians had never before this entered Syracuse; whereas, Hicetes receiving them and putting the city into their hands, you might see it become now as it were a camp of barbarians. By this the Corinthian soldiers that kept the castle, found themselves brought into great danger and hardship; as, besides that their provision grew scarce and they began to be in want, because the ports were strictly guarded and blocked up, the enemy exercised them still with skirmishes and combats about their walls, and they had

to divide themselves to meet assaults of every kind, and every variety of the means of offence employed by a besieging army.

Timoleon made efforts to relieve them by sending 18 corn from Catana in small fishing-vessels and light boats, which commonly gained a passage through the Carthaginian galleys in times of storm, stealing up when the blockading ships were driven apart and dispersed by the stress of weather: which Mago and Hicetes observing, agreed to fall upon Catana, from whence these supplies were brought in to the besieged, and accordingly put off from Syracuse, taking with them the best soldiers of their army. Upon this Neon the Corinthian, the commander of the besieged, observing from the citadel that the enemies who stayed behind were very negligent and careless in keeping guard, made a sudden sally upon them as they lay scattered, and killing some and putting others to flight, he took and possessed himself of the quarter called Achradina, which was thought to be the strongest and most defensible part of Syracuse, a city made up and compacted, as it were, of several towns put together. And having supplied himself with corn and money, he did not abandon the place nor retire again into the castle, but fortifying the precincts of Achradina, and joining it by works to the citadel, he undertook the defence of both. Mago and Hicetes were now come near to Catana, when a horseman from Syracuse brought them tidings that Achradina was taken; upon which they returned in all haste with great disorder and confusion, having neither been able to reduce the city they went against, nor to preserve that they were masters of.

- 19 These successes indeed were such as might leave foresight and courage a pretence of disputing it with fortune, which contributed most to the result. But the next following event can scarcely be ascribed to any thing but pure felicity. The Corinthian soldiers who stayed at Thurii, partly for fear of the Carthaginian galleys, which lay in wait for them under the command of Hanno, and partly because of tempestuous weather which had lasted for many days and rendered the sea dangerous, took a resolution to march by land over the Bruttian territories, and what with persuasion and force together, made good their passage through those barbarians to the city of Rhegium, the sea being still rough and raging as before. But Hanno, not expecting the Corinthians would venture out, and supposing it would be useless to wait there any longer, bethought himself, as he imagined, of a most ingenious and clever plan to delude and ensnare the enemy; he commands the seamen to crown themselves with garlands, and, adorning his galleys with shields of the Greek make and with scarlet coats, he sails away for Syracuse, and using all his speed, as he passed under the castle, with much shouting and laughter, cried out to dishearten the besieged, that he was *come from vanquishing and taking the Corinthian succours*, which he had met at sea as they were passing over. While he was thus trifling and playing his tricks before Syracuse, the Corinthians, now come as far as Rhegium, observing the coast clear, and that the wind also was laid, as it were by miracle, to afford them in all appearance a quiet and smooth passage, went immediately aboard on such little ferry-boats and fishing-vessels as were then at hand, and got

over to Sicily with such complete safety and in such an extraordinary calm, that they drew their horses by the reins, they swimming along by them as the vessels went across.

When they were all landed, Timoleon came to receive 20 them, and at once obtained possession of Messena; from whence he marched in good order to Syracuse, trusting more to his late successes than his present strength, as the whole army he had then with him did not exceed four thousand. Mago however was troubled and fearful at the first notice of his coming, and grew more apprehensive and suspicious upon the following occasion. The marshes about Syracuse, that receive a great deal of fresh water, as well from springs as from lakes and rivers discharging themselves into the sea, breed abundance of eels, which may be always taken there in great quantities by any that will fish for them. The mercenary soldiers on both sides were wont to follow the sport together at their vacant hours and upon any cessation of arms; who, being all Greeks and having no cause of private enmity to each other, as they would venture bravely in fight, so in times of truce used to meet and converse amicably together. And at this present time, while engaged about this common business of fishing, they fell into talk together; and some expressing their admiration of the neighbouring sea, and others theirs of the buildings and public works, one of the Corinthian party took occasion to ask the others: "And is it possible that you who are Grecians born, should be so forward to reduce a city of this greatness, and enjoying so many advantages, into the state of barbarism; and lend your assistance

to plant Carthaginians, that are the worst and bloodiest of men, so much the nearer to us? whereas you should rather wish there were many more Sicilies between them and Greece. Have you so little sense as to believe, that they come hither with an army from the Pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic Sea, to hazard themselves for the establishment of Hicetes? who if he had had the consideration which becomes a ruler, would never have thrown out his ancestors and founders to bring in the enemies of his country in the room of them, when he might have enjoyed all suitable honour and command, if he had but joined the cause of Timoleon and the Corinthians." The Greeks that were in pay with Hicetes spread these words about the camp, and gave Mago some ground to suspect, as indeed he had long sought for a pretence to be gone, that there was treachery contrived against him. So that although Hicetes entreated him to stay, and made it appear how much stronger they were than the enemy, yet conceiving they came far more short of Timoleon in respect of courage and fortune, than they surpassed him in number, he presently went aboard and set sail for Africa, letting Sicily escape out of his hands with dishonour to himself, and for such uncertain causes, that no human reason could be given to explain his departure.

- 21 The day after he went away, Timoleon came up before the city in array for a battle. But when he and his company heard of this sudden flight, and saw the docks all empty, they could not forbear laughing at the cowardice of Mago, and in mockery caused proclamation to be made through the city, that a reward would be given to any one who could bring tidings whither the

Carthaginian fleet had conveyed itself away. However, Hicetes resolving to fight it out alone, and not quitting his hold of the city, but sticking close to the quarters he was in possession of, places that were well fortified and not easy to be attacked, Timoleon divided his forces into three parts, and himself attacked the side where the river Anapus runs, which was most difficult of access; and commanded others under Isias, a Corinthian captain, to make their assault from Achradina, while Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought him the last supply from Corinth, were with a third division to attempt the quarter of Epipolæ. A considerable impression being made from every side at once, the soldiers of Hicetes were beaten off and put to flight; and this—that the city came to be taken by storm, and fell quickly into their hands, upon the defeat and rout of the enemy—we must in justice ascribe to the valour of the assailants, and the conduct of their general; but that not so much as a man of the Corinthians was either slain or wounded in the action, this the good fortune of Timoleon seems to challenge for her own work, as though in a sort of rivalry with his own personal exertions she made it her aim to exceed and obscure his actions by her favours, that those who heard him commended for his noble deeds, might rather admire the happiness, than the merit of them. For the fame of what was done not only passed through all Sicily and Italy, but even Greece itself after a few days came to ring with the greatness of his exploit; insomuch that the people of Corinth, who had as yet no certainty that their auxiliaries were landed on the island, had tidings brought them at the same time that they were safe and

Capture
of Syra-
cuse.

were conquerors. In so prosperous a course did affairs run, and such was the speed and celerity of execution with which fortune, as with a new ornament, set off the native lustre of the performance.

- 22 Timoleon, now master of the citadel, avoided the error of which Dion had been guilty. He spared not the place for the beauty and sumptuousness of its fabric, and, keeping clear of those suspicions which occasioned first the unpopularity and afterwards the fall of Dion, made a public crier give notice, that all the Syracusans who were willing to have a hand in the work, should bring pick-axes and mattocks, and other instruments, and help him to demolish the fortifications of the tyrants. When they all came up with one accord, looking upon that order and that day as the surest foundation of their liberty, they not only pulled down the castle, but overturned the palaces and monuments adjoining, and whatever else might preserve any memory of the tyrants. Having soon levelled and cleared the place, he there erected courts for administration of justice, gratifying the citizens by this means, and building up popular government on the fall and ruin of tyranny. But since he had recovered a city destitute of inhabitants, some of them being dead in civil wars and seditions, and others in exile to escape tyrants, so that through solitude and want of people the great market-place of Syracuse was overgrown with such quantity of rank herbage that it became a pasture for their horses, the grooms lying along in the grass as they fed by them; while also other towns, very few excepted, were become full of stags and wild boars, so that those who had nothing else to do went hunting,

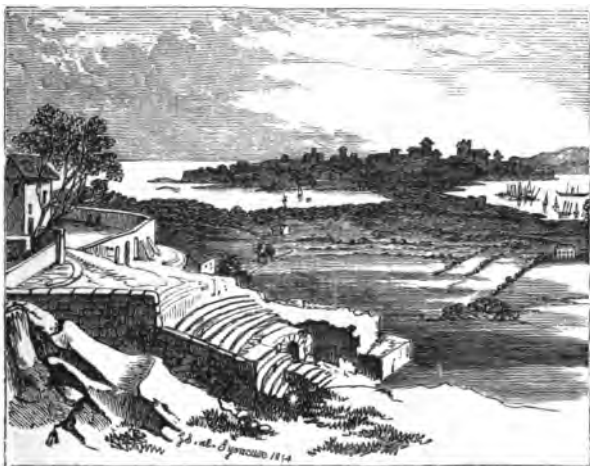
and found game in the suburbs and about the walls; and not one of those who had possessed themselves of castles, or made garrisons in the country, could be persuaded to quit their present abode, or would accept an invitation to return back into the city, so much did they all dread and abhor the very name of assemblies, and forms of government, and public speaking, that had produced the greater part of those usurpers, who had successively assumed a dominion over them,—Timoleon therefore with the Syracusans that remained, considering this vast desolation, and how little hope there was to have it otherwise supplied, thought good to write to the Corinthians, requesting that they would send a colony out of Greece to repeople Syracuse. For else the land about it would lie unimproved; and beside this they expected a greater war from Africa, having news that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, out of rage for his ill conduct in the late expedition, had nailed his body on a cross, and that they were raising a mighty force, to make a descent upon Sicily next summer.

These letters from Timoleon being delivered at 23 Corinth, and the ambassadors of Syracuse beseeching them at the same time, that they would take upon them the care of their city, and once again become the founders of it, the Corinthians were not tempted by any feeling of cupidity to lay hold of the advantage; nor did they seize and appropriate the city to themselves, but going about first to the games that are kept as sacred in Greece, and to the most numerous attended religious assemblages, they made publication by heralds, that the Corinthians, having destroyed the usurpation

at Syracuse and driven out the tyrant, did hereby invite the Syracusan exiles, and any other Sicilian Greeks, to return and inhabit the city, with full enjoyment of freedom under their own laws, the land being divided among them in just and equal proportions. And after this, sending messengers into Asia and the several islands, where they understood that most of the scattered fugitives were then residing, they bid them all repair to Corinth, engaging that the Corinthians, at their own charges, would afford them vessels and commanders and a safe convoy to Syracuse. Such generous proposals being thus spread about gained them the just and honourable recompense of general praise and benediction, for delivering the country from oppressors, saving it from barbarians, and restoring it to the rightful owners of the place. These, when they were assembled at Corinth, and found how insufficient their company was, besought the Corinthians that they might have a supplement of other persons, as well out of their city as the rest of Greece, to go with them as joint-colonists; and so raising themselves to the number of ten thousand, they sailed together to Syracuse. By this time great multitudes also from Italy and Sicily had flocked in to Timoleon, so that, as Athanis reports, their entire body amounted now to sixty thousand men. Among these he divided the whole of the land, but sold the houses for a thousand talents; by which method he both left it in the power of the old Syracusans to redeem their own, and made it a means also for raising a stock for the community, which had been so much impoverished of late, and was so unable to defray other expenses and especially those of a war,

that they exposed their very statues to sale, a regular process being observed, and sentence of auction passed upon each of them by a majority of votes, as if they had been so many criminals taking their trial: in the course of which it is said that while condemnation was pronounced upon other statues, that of the ancient usurper Gelo was exempted, out of admiration and honour for the sake of the victory he gained over the Carthaginian forces at the river Himera.

Syracuse being thus happily revived and replenished 24 again by the general concourse of inhabitants from all



View of Syracuse.

parts, Timoleon was desirous now to rescue other cities from the like bondage, and wholly and once for all to extirpate arbitrary government out of Sicily. And for

this purpose marching into the territories of those that used it, he compelled Hicetes first to renounce the Carthaginian interest, and demolishing the fortresses which were held by him, to live henceforth at Leontini as a private person. Leptines also, the tyrant of Apollonia and divers other little towns, after some resistance made, seeing the danger he was in of being taken by force, surrendered himself; upon which Timoleon spared his life and sent him away to Corinth, counting it a glorious thing that the mother city should offer to the view of other Greeks these Sicilian tyrants, living now in an exiled and a low condition. After this he returned to Syracuse, that he might have leisure to attend to the establishment of the new constitution, and assist Cephalus and Dionysius, who were sent from Corinth to make laws, in determining the most important points of it. In the mean while, desirous that his hired soldiers should not want action, but might rather enrich themselves by some plunder from the enemy, he despatched Dinarchus and Demaretus with a portion of them into the part of the island belonging to the Carthaginians, where they obliged several cities to revolt from the barbarians, and not only lived in great abundance themselves, but raised money from their spoil to carry on the war.

25 Meantime, the Carthaginians landed at the promon-
 New tory of Lilybæum, bringing with them seventy thousand
 Expedi- men and two hundred galleys, besides a thousand other
 tion of vessels laden with engines of battery, chariots, corn,
 the and other military stores, as if they did not intend to
 Cartha- manage the war by piecemeal and in parts, as hereto-
 ginians.

of all Sicily. And indeed it was a force sufficient to overpower the Siceliots, even though they had been at perfect union among themselves, and had never been enfeebled by intestine quarrels. Hearing that part of their subject territory was suffering devastation, they forthwith made toward the Corinthians with great fury, having Asdrubal and Amilcar for their generals; the report of whose numbers and strength coming suddenly to Syracuse, the citizens were so terrified, that hardly three thousand, among so many myriads of them, had the courage to take up arms and join Timoleon. The foreigners, serving for pay, were not above four thousand in all, and about a thousand of these grew faint-hearted by the way, and forsook Timoleon in his march toward the enemy, looking on him as frantic and distracted, destitute of the sense which might have been expected from his time of life, thus to venture out against an army of seventy thousand men, with no more than five thousand foot and a thousand horse; and, when he should have kept these forces to defend the city, choosing rather to remove them eight days' journey from Syracuse, so that if they were beaten from the field, they would have no retreat, nor any burial, if they fell upon it. Timoleon however reckoned it some kind of advantage that these had thus discovered themselves before the battle, and encouraging the rest, led them with all speed to the river Crimesus, where it was told him the Carthaginians were drawn together.

As he was marching up an ascent, from the top of 26
which they expected to have a view of the army and of
the strength of the enemy, there met him by chance a

train of mules loaded with parsley, which his soldiers took for an ominous occurrence, because this is the herb with which we not unfrequently adorn the sepulchres of the dead ; and there is a proverb derived from the custom, used of one who is dangerously sick, that he has need of nothing but parsley. So to ease their minds and free them from any superstitious thoughts or forebodings of evil, Timoleon halted, and concluded an address, suitable to the occasion, by saying, that a garland of triumph was here luckily brought them, and had fallen into their hands of its own accord, as an anticipation of victory ; the same with which the Corinthians crown the victors in the Isthmian games, accounting chaplets of parsley the sacred wreath proper to their country : parsley being at that time still the emblem of victory at the Isthmian, as it is now at the Nemean, sports ; and it is not so very long ago that the pine first began to be used in its place.* Timoleon, therefore, having thus addressed his soldiers, took part of the parsley, and with it made himself a chaplet first, his captains and their companies all following the example. The soothsayers then observing also two eagles on the wing towards them, one of which bore a snake struck through with her talons, and the other, as she flew, uttered a loud cry indicating boldness and assurance, showed them to the soldiers, who with one consent fell to supplicate the gods, and call them in to their assistance.

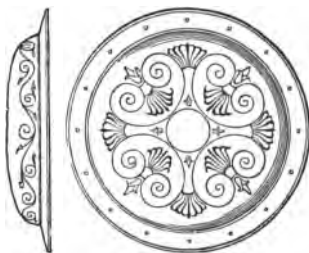
27 It was now about the beginning of summer, and con-
Battle of the conclusion of the month Thargelion, not far from the

* The pine, sacred to Neptune, was the original Isthmian garland ; then came parsley in its place ; and then, not long before Plutarch's time, as he himself tells us, the pine came in again.

solstice; and the river sending up a thick mist, all the adjacent plain was at first darkened with the fog, so that for a while they could discern nothing in the direction of the enemy; only a confused buzz and undistinguished mixture of voices came up the hill, from the distant motions of so vast a multitude. When the Corinthians had mounted, and stood on the top, and had laid down their shields to take breath and repose themselves, the sun coming round and drawing up the vapours from below, the gross foggy air that was now gathered and condensed above, formed in a cloud upon the mountains; and, all the under places becoming clear and open, the Crimesus appeared in sight, and they saw the enemies passing over it, first with their formidable four horse chariots of war, and then ten thousand footmen bearing white shields, whom they guessed to be all Carthaginians, from the splendour of their arms, and the slowness and order of their march. And when now the troops of various other nations, flowing in behind them, began to throng for passage in a tumultuous and unruly manner, Timoleon perceiving that the river would portion off for them whatever number of the enemies they should choose to engage with at once, and bidding his soldiers observe how their forces were divided into two separate bodies by the intervention of the stream, some being already over, and others still to ford it, he gave Demaretus command to fall in upon the Carthaginians with his horse, and disturb their ranks before they should be drawn up into form of battle; and coming down into the plain himself, forming his right and left wing of other Sicilians, intermingling only a few strangers in each, he placed the natives of

Crimesus,
June,
B.C. 340
or 339

Syracuse in the middle, with the stoutest mercenaries he had; and, waiting a little to observe the action of his horse, when he saw they were not only hindered from grappling with the Carthaginians by the armed chariots that ran before their army, but forced continually to wheel about to escape having their ranks broken, and so to repeat their charges anew, he took his shield*, and crying out to the foot to *follow and fear nothing*, he seemed to speak with a more than human accent, and a voice stronger than ordinary; whether it were that he naturally raised it in the vehemence and ardour of his mind, or, as his soldiers thought, some god spoke with him. When they quickly gave an echo to



The Aspis, or Clipeus, or round Grecian shield. (From fictile vases.)

it, and besought him to lead them on without delay, he made a sign to the horse to draw off from the front where the chariots were and pass sideways to attack on the flank; then making his line compact, man to man, and shield to shield, he caused the trumpet to sound, and bore in upon the Carthaginians.

* The heavy shield would be carried for the general by an attendant. The Crimésus, or Crimessus, is south of Palermo.

They for their part stoutly received and sustained his 28 first onset; and having their bodies armed with breast-plates of iron, and helmets of brass on their heads, beside great bucklers to cover and secure them, they could repel the charge of the Greek spears. But when it came to a decision by the sword, where mastery depends no less upon art than strength, all of a sudden from the mountain tops violent peals of thunder and vivid flashes of lightning broke out; following upon which the darkness, that had been resting upon the higher grounds and the crests of the hills, descending to the place of battle and bringing a tempest of rain and of wind and hail along with it, was driven upon the Greeks behind and fell only at their backs, but discharged itself in the very faces of the barbarians; the rain beating on them, and the lightning dazzling them, without cessation; annoyances that in many ways distressed at any rate the inexperienced, and in particular the claps of thunder and the noise of the rain and hail beating on their arms kept them from hearing the commands of their officers. Besides which the very mud also was a great hindrance to the Carthaginians, who were not lightly equipped, but, as I said before, loaded with unusually heavy armour; and then their shirts underneath getting drenched, the folds becoming filled with water grew unwieldy and cumbersome to them as they fought, and made it easy for the Greeks to throw them down, and, when they were once down, impossible for them, under that weight, to disengage themselves and rise again with their arms. The river Crimesus too, swollen partly by the rain, and partly by the stoppage of its course with the numbers

that were passing through, overflowed its banks; and the level ground by the side of it, being so situated as to have a number of small ravines and hollows of the hill-side descending upon it, was now filled with rivulets and currents that had no certain channel, in which the Carthaginians stumbled and rolled about, and found themselves in great difficulty. So that in fine, the storm bearing still upon them, and the Greeks having cut in pieces four hundred men of their first ranks, the whole body of their army began to fly. Great numbers were overtaken in the plain and put to the sword there; and many of them, as they were making their way back through the river, falling foul upon others that were yet coming over, were borne away and overwhelmed by the waters; but the major part, attempting to get up the hills and so make their escape, were intercepted and destroyed by the light-armed troops. It is said, that of ten thousand who lay dead after the fight, three thousand at least were Carthaginian citizens; a heavy loss and great grief to their countrymen; those that fell being men inferior to none among them as to birth, wealth, or reputation. Nor do their records mention that so many native Carthaginians were ever cut off before in any one battle; as they usually employed Africans, Spaniards, and Numidians in their wars, so that if they chanced to be defeated, it was still at the cost and damage of other nations.

- 29 The Greeks easily discovered of what condition the slain were, by the richness of their spoils; for when they came to collect the booty, there was little reckoning made either of brass or iron, so abundant were better metals, and so common were silver and gold.

For they crossed the river, and became masters of their camp and carriages. And as for captives, the greater number of them were stolen away and sold privately by the soldiers, but about five thousand were brought in and delivered up for the benefit of the public: two hundred of their chariots of war were also taken. The tent of Timoleon presented a most glorious and magnificent appearance, being heaped up and hung round with every variety of spoils and military ornaments, among which there were a thousand breastplates of rare workmanship and beauty, and shields to the number of ten thousand. The victors being but few to strip so many that were vanquished, and having such valuable booty to occupy them, it was the third day after the fight before they found time to erect their trophy. Timoleon sent tidings of his victory to Corinth, together with the most splendid of the arms, that he thus might render his country an object of emulation to the whole world, when of all the cities of Greece men should there alone behold the chief temples adorned, not with Grecian spoils nor offerings obtained by the bloodshed and plunder of their own countrymen and kindred, and attended therefore with sad and unhappy remembrances, but with such as had been stripped from barbarian enemies, with the noblest titles inscribed upon them, titles telling of the justice as well as fortitude of the conquerors; namely, that the *people of Corinth and Timoleon their general, having redeemed the Greeks of Sicily from Carthaginian bondage, made oblation of these to the gods in grateful acknowledgment of their favour.*

Having done this, he left his hired soldiers in the 30

Wars
with
Mamer-
cus and
Hicetes.

enemy's country, to drive and carry away all they could throughout the subject-territory of Carthage, and so marched with the rest of his army to Syracuse, where he issued an edict for banishing from Sicily the thousand mercenaries who had deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit the city before sunset. They, sailing into Italy, lost their lives there by the hands of the Bruttians, in spite of a public assurance of safety previously given them; thus receiving from the divine power the reward of their treachery. Mamercus, however, the tyrant of Catana, and Hicetes, after all, either envying Timoleon the glory of his exploits, or fearing him as one that would keep no agreement nor have any peace with tyrants, made a league with the Carthaginians, and pressed them much to send a new army and commander into Sicily, unless they would be content to hazard all, and to be wholly ejected out of that island. And in consequence of this Gisco was despatched with a navy of seventy sail. He took also Greek mercenaries into pay, that being the first time they had ever been enlisted for the Carthaginian service; but then it seems the Carthaginians began to admire them, as the most irresistible soldiers of all mankind. These confederates, uniting their forces in the territory of Messena, cut off four hundred of Timoleon's paid soldiers, and within the subject-territory of Carthage, at a place called Ietæ, they destroyed by an ambuscade the whole body of mercenaries that served under Euthymus the Leucadian; which accidents however made the good fortune of Timoleon accounted all the more remarkable; as these were the men that with Philomelus of Phocis and Onomarchus had held Delphi, and been partakers with them in the

plunder of the temple ; so that being hated and shunned by all, as persons under a curse, they were constrained to wander about in Peloponnesus ; when, for want of others, Timoleon was glad to take them into service in his expedition for Sicily, where they were successful in whatever enterprise they attempted under his conduct. But, now, when all the important dangers were past, on his sending them out for the relief and defence of his party in several places, they perished and were destroyed at a distance from him, not all together, but in small parties ; and the vengeance which was destined for them so accommodating itself to the good fortune which guarded Timoleon, that no harm to good men arose from the punishment of the bad, the benevolence and kindness which the gods had for Timoleon was thus as distinctly recognised in his disasters as in his successes.

What most annoyed the Syracusans was their being 31 insulted and mocked by the tyrants ; as for example by Mamercus, who valued himself much upon his gift for writing poems and tragedies, and took occasion, when coming to present the gods with the shields of the hired soldiers whom he had killed, to make a boast of his victory in an insulting elegiac inscription :

*These shields with purple, gold, and ivory wrought,
Were won by us that with but poor ones fought.*

After this, while Timoleon marched to Calauria, Hicetes made an inroad into the borders of Syracuse, where he took considerable booty, and having done much mischief and havock, returned back by Calauria itself, despising the slender force of Timoleon. He, suffering Hicetes to pass forward, pursued him with

his horsemen and light infantry, which Hicetes perceiving crossed the river Damyras, and then stood in a posture to receive him; the difficulty of the passage and the height and steepness of the bank on each side giving advantage enough to make him confident. A strange contention and dispute meantime, among the officers of Timoleon, a little retarded the conflict; no one of them was willing to let another pass over before him to engage the enemy; each man claiming it as a right to venture first and begin the onset; so that their fording was likely to be tumultuous and without order, a mere general struggle which should be the foremost. Timoleon therefore, desiring to decide the quarrel by lot, took a ring from each of the pretenders, which he threw into his own cloak, and, after he had shaken all together, the first he drew out had by good fortune the figure of a trophy engraved as a seal upon it: at the sight of which the young captains all shouted for joy, and, without waiting any longer to see how chance would determine it for the rest, took every man his way through the river with all the speed they could make, and fell to blows with the enemies, who were not able to bear up against the violence of their attack, but fled in haste and left their arms behind them all alike, and a thousand dead upon the place.

- 32 Not long after Timoleon, marching up to the city of Leontini, took Hicetes alive, and his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus the commander of his horse, who were bound and brought to him by their own soldiers. Hicetes and the stripling his son were then executed as tyrants and traitors; and Euthymus, though a brave man and one of singular courage, could obtain no

mercy, because he was charged with contemptuous language in disparagement of the Corinthians when they first sent their forces into Sicily. It was said that he told the Leontinians in a speech, that the news did not sound terrible, nor was any great danger to be feared because of

*Corinthian women coming out of doors.**

So true is it that men are usually more stung and galled by reproachful words than hostile actions; and they bear an affront with less patience than an injury: to do harm and mischief by deeds is counted pardonable, as nothing less can be expected in war; whereas contumelious words appear to be the expression of needless hatred and rancour.

When Timoleon came back to Syracuse, the citizens 33 brought the wives and daughters of Hicetes and his son to a public trial; and condemned and put them to death. This seems to be the least pleasing action of Timoleon's life; since if he had interposed, the unhappy women would have been spared. He would appear to have disregarded the thing, and to have given them up to the citizens, who were eager to take vengeance for the wrongs done to Dion, who expelled Dionysius; since it was this very Hicetes who took Arete the wife and Aristomache the sister of Dion, with a son that had not yet passed his childhood, and threw them all

* These are the words (though not the sense) when Medea in Euripides's play first enters the stage, and addresses the chorus,

*Corinthian women! coming out of doors,
Blame not, if thus ye see me.*

together into the sea alive, as related in the life of Dion.

- 34 After this he marched to Catana against Mamercus ; who gave him battle near the river Abolus*, and was overthrown and put to flight, losing above two thousand men, a considerable part of whom were the Phœnician troops sent by Gisco to his assistance. After this defeat the Carthaginians sued for peace ; which was granted on the conditions, that they should confine themselves to the country within the river Lycus† ; that those of the inhabitants in that district who wished to remove to the Syracusan territory should be allowed to depart with their families and fortunes ; and lastly that Carthage should renounce all engagements to the tyrants. Mamercus, now despairing of success, took ship for Italy with the design of bringing in the Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracusans ; but the men in his galleys, turning back and landing again and delivering up Catana to Timoleon, obliged him to fly for his own safety to Messena, where Hippo was tyrant. Timoleon however coming up against them and besieging the city both by sea and land, Hippo, fearful of the event, endeavoured to slip away in a vessel, which was surprised as it was putting off ; and the people of Messena taking him alive, and bringing all their children from school into the theatre, to witness the glorious spectacle of a tyrant punished, publicly scourged and put him to death. Mamercus made surrender of himself to Timoleon with the proviso, that he should be tried at Syracuse, and Timoleon

* Or Alabus.

† Or Halycus.

should take no part in his accusation. Thither he was brought accordingly, and presenting himself to plead before the people, he essayed to pronounce an oration he had some time before composed in his own defence ; but finding himself interrupted by noise and clamours, and seeing from their aspect that the assembly was inexorable, he threw off his upper garment, and running across the theatre as hard as he could, dashed his head against one of the stones of the seats with intention to have killed himself ; but he had not the fortune to perish, as he designed, but was taken up alive and suffered the death of a robber.

Thus did Timoleon destroy tyranny, and put a period 35 to war ; and, whereas, at his first entering upon Sicily, the island was as it were become wild again, and was hateful to the very natives on account of the miseries they suffered there, he so civilised and restored it and rendered it so desirable to all men, that strangers now came by sea to inhabit those towns and places which their own citizens had formerly forsaken. Agrigentum and Gela, two great cities that had been ruined and laid waste by the Carthaginians after the Attic war*, were then peopled again, the one by Megellus and Pheristus from Elea†, the other by Gorgus from the island of Ceos, who collected again the old inhabitants from various parts ; to all of whom Timoleon not only afforded a secure and peaceable abode after so obstinate a war, but was further so zealous in assisting and pro-

Repeo-
pling of
Agri-
gentum
and
Gela.

* B.C. 406, seven years after the Athenian expedition against Sicily.

† Or Velia, as it is usually called according to the Latin form.

viding for them that he was honoured among them as their founder. Similar feelings also possessed to such a degree all the rest of the Sicilians, that there was no proposal for peace, nor reformation of laws, nor assignation of land, nor reconstitution of government, which they could think well of, unless he lent his aid as a chief architect, to finish and adorn the work, and superadd some touches from his own hand, which might render it pleasing both to God and man.

- 36 Although Greece had in his time produced several great men, and men distinguished for great achievements, such as Timotheus and Agesilaus and Pelopidas and (Timoleon's chief model) Epaminondas, yet the lustre of their actions was obscured by a certain violence and suffering ; so that some of them indeed were matter of blame and of repentance. Whereas there is not any act of Timoleon's, setting aside the necessity he was placed under in reference to his brother, to which, as Timæus observes, we may not fitly apply the exclamation of Sophocles :—

*O gods ! what Venus, or what charm divine,
Did here with human workmanship combine ?*

For as the poetry of Antimachus and the painting of Dionysius, the artists of Colophon, though full of force and vigour, yet appeared to be strained and elaborate in comparison with the pictures of Nicomachus, and the verses of Homer, which besides their general strength and beauty, have the peculiar charm of seeming to have been produced with perfect ease and readiness ; so the expeditions and acts of Epaminondas, or Agesilaus, that

were full of toil and terrible effort, when compared with the easy and natural, as well as noble and glorious achievements of Timoleon, compel our fair and unbiassed judgment to pronounce the latter the work not indeed of fortune, but of fortunate merit. Though he himself indeed ascribed his successes to the sole favour of fortune; and both in the letters which he wrote to his friends at Corinth and in the speeches he made to the people of Syracuse, he would say, that he was *thankful to God, who designing to save Sicily was pleased to honour him with the name of its deliverance*. He built a chapel in his house, and sacrificed there to Good Hap*, and devoted the building itself to the Sacred Genius, it being a house which the Syracusans had selected for him, as a special reward and monument of his exploits, granting him together with it the most agreeable and beautiful piece of land in the country, which he made his residence for the most part, and enjoyed a private life with his wife and children who came to him from Corinth. For he returned thither no more, unwilling to be concerned in the broils and tumults of Greece, or to expose himself to public envy (the mischief which great commanders continually run into, from the insatiable appetite for honours and authority); but chose to spend the remainder of his days in Sicily, and there to

* *Automátia* in Greek; spontaneousness: his successes had come as it were of themselves. The Sacred Genius, or *Dæmon*, like the genius or *dæmon* of Socrates; his instinctive and apparently unreasoning decisions had been attended with such happy results, as to make him unavoidably refer them to something out of himself, to some preternatural guidance.

partake of the blessings he himself had procured, the greatest of which was, to behold so many cities flourish, and so many thousands of people live happy through his means.



Coin of Syracuse.

- 37 As however not only as Simonides says, "On every lark must grow a crest,"* but also in every democracy there must spring up a false accuser, so was it at Syracuse; two of their popular spokesmen, Laphystius and Demænetus, attacked Timoleon. The former of whom requiring him to put in sureties, that he would answer to an indictment that would be brought against him, Timoleon would not suffer the citizens, who were incensed at this demand, to oppose it or hinder the proceeding, since he of his own accord had been, he said, at all that trouble, and had run so many dangerous risks for this very end and purpose, that every one in Syracuse who wished to appeal to law, should have free power to do so. And when Demænetus in a full

* Literally, "On every Corydallus," which was the separate name of the crested or tufted lark.

audience of the people laid several things to his charge which had been done while he was general, he made no other reply to him, but only said he *was much indebted to the gods for granting the request he had so often made them, namely, that he might live to see the Syracusans enjoy full liberty of speech.*

Timoleon, therefore, having by confession of all done 38 the greatest and the noblest things of any Greek of his age, and alone distinguished himself in those actions, to which their orators and philosophers, in their harangues and panegyrics at their national assemblies, used to exhort and incite the Greeks, and being withdrawn beforehand by happy fortune, unspotted and without blood, from the calamities in which ancient Greece was involved; having also given full proof, as of his capacity and courage to the barbarians and tyrants, so of his justice and gentleness to the Greeks, and his friends in general; having raised, too, the greater part of those trophies he won in battle, without tears shed or mourning worn by his fellow-citizens, and having within less than eight years' space delivered Sicily from its inveterate grievances and intestine distempers, and placed it free in the hands of the inhabitants, began, as he was by this time an elderly man, to find his eyes fail, and soon after became perfectly blind. Not however by anything that he had done himself to occasion it, nor yet by any outrage of fortune; it seems rather to have been some original defect of natural constitution, increasing with the lapse of years. Several of his family, it is said, suffered the like decay, and lost their sight as he did, in their declining years. Athanis tells us that a white speck in his eye appeared during the

war against Hippo and Mamercus, while he was in his camp at Mylæ, from whence all could foresee what was coming; this, however, did not hinder him from continuing the siege; he prosecuted the war till he took the tyrants; but upon coming back to Syracuse, at once resigned his place as sole commander, and excused himself to the citizens from further service, so fair an issue having already been attained.

- 89 Nor is it so great a wonder that he himself should bear the misfortune without complaining; but the respect and gratitude which the Syracusans showed him when he was entirely blind, may justly excite our admiration. They used to go in numbers to visit him themselves, and brought the strangers that travelled in their country to his house and land, that they also might see their benefactor; making it the great matter of their joy and exultation, that when, after so many brave and happy exploits, he might have returned with great glory into Greece, he should disregard these honours that awaited him, and choose rather to stay and end his days among them. Of the various things decreed and done in his honour, one most signal testimony was the vote which they passed, that, whenever they should be at war with a foreign nation, they should make use of a Corinthian general. Their method, also, of proceeding in council, was a noble demonstration of their deference for him. For, determining matters of less consequence themselves, they called in him to advise in difficult and important cases. He was carried through the market-place in a carriage, and brought sitting in it, as he was, into the theatre, where the people with one voice saluted him by his name; and then, after

returning the courtesy, and pausing for the noise of their gratulations and blessings to cease, he heard the question in debate, and delivered his opinion. This being confirmed by show of hands, his servants went back with the carriage through the theatre, the people following him out with acclamations and applause, and then returning to consider other public matters, which they could despatch in his absence.

Being thus cherished in his old age, with all the respect and affection due to a common father, he was seized with a very slight indisposition, which however was sufficient, with his years, to end his life. There was an allotment then of certain days given, within which the Syracusans were to provide whatever should be necessary for his burial, and the neighbouring country people and strangers were to make their appearance in a body; after which ensued a splendid funeral ceremony, and the bier, decked with ornaments, was borne by a select body of young men over the ground where the palace and castle of Dionysius stood, before they were demolished by Timoleon. There attended on the solemnity many thousands of men and women, all crowned with flowers, and arrayed in clean attire, making it look like the procession of a public festival; while the language of all, and their tears mingling with their praise and benediction of the dead, showed that it was not any formal honour, or any commanded homage, which they paid him, but the testimony of a just sorrow for his death, and the expression of a true affection. The bier at length being placed upon the pile of wood that was kindled to consume his corpse, Demetrius, the loudest crier of the time, proceeded to read

40
Death
of Ti-
moleon
B.C. 337
or 336.

a proclamation to the following purpose: "The people of Syracuse performs the funeral rites of Timoleon, the son of Timodemus, the Corinthian, at the common expense of two hundred minas, and will do honour to his memory for ever, by annual prizes to be competed for in music, and horse races, and all sorts of bodily exercise; because he suppressed the tyrants, overthrew the barbarians, repopled the largest of the deserted cities, and restored the Sicilian Greeks to the enjoyment of their own laws." Besides this, they made his tomb in the market-place, which they afterwards built round with colonnades, and attached to it places of exercise for the young men, and gave it the name of the Timoleonteum. And keeping to that form of civil polity and observing those laws and constitutions which he left them, they lived for a considerable time in prosperity.



Temple ruin at Corinth (From an original drawing by Sir W. Gell.)

DEMOSTHENES.



Bust of Demosthenes.

THE author of the poem in honour of Alcibiades upon 1 his winning the chariot-race at the Olympian games tells us, Sosius* (whether he were Euripides, as is commonly thought, or some other person), that *the happy man must in the first place be born in some famous city*. But for a man's attaining the true happiness, which depends so very much on the character and disposition, I hold it is of no more disadvantage to be born in a mean, obscure country, than to be born of a small or plain-looking woman. It would be ludicrous to think that Iulis, a little part of the small island of Ceos, and Ægina, which an Athenian once said ought to be removed, like an eye-sore, from the port of Piræus, should give the world good actors and

* Sosius Senecio, to whom this life is addressed, was a distinguished Roman friend of Plutarch's. He was four times consul under Nerva and Trajan.

poets*, but be incapable of producing a just, temperate, wise, and high-minded man. Those arts, which exist for wealth or honour, are likely enough to wither and decay in poor and undistinguished towns; but virtue, like a strong and durable plant, may take root and thrive in any place where it can lay hold of an ingenuous nature and a mind that is industrious. I for my part shall desire, that for any deficiency of mine in right judgment or action, I myself may be, as in fairness, held accountable, and shall not ask to have it attributed to the obscurity of my birthplace.

- 2 But if a man undertake to write a history, which has to be collected from books and documents not easy to be got in all places, nor written always in his own language, but many of them foreign and dispersed in other hands, for him undoubtedly it is in the first place and above all things necessary to reside in a city of note, addicted to liberal arts, and populous; where he may have plenty of all sorts of books, and may inform himself by personal inquiry of such particulars, as having escaped the pens of writers, are more faithfully preserved in the memories of men, lest his work be deficient in many even of those points which it can least dispense with. For me, I live in a little town, where I am content to remain not to make it less; and having had no leisure, what with public business and with my hearers in philosophy, to study the Roman language while I was in Rome and other parts of Italy, it was late and far on in

* Simonides, the lyric poet, was born at Iulis in Ceos; and Polus, the celebrated actor, who is mentioned in the account, further on, of Demosthenes's death, was a native of Ægina. The ode in honour of Alcibiades is quoted in his life, Chap. 11.

my life when I began to read the Latin authors. Upon which what happened to me may seem strange, though it be true; the knowledge of words did not so much help me to information about things, as did my previous information of things to an understanding of the meaning of words. But to appreciate the graceful and ready pronunciation of the Roman tongue, to be able to judge of the various figures of speech and the connection of words and other beauties of the language is, I doubt not, an admirable and delightful accomplishment; only it requires a degree of practice and study which is not easy, and which will better suit those who have more leisure and time enough yet before them for the occupation.

And so, in giving an account of Demosthenes and of 3 Cicero, with whom I compare him among the Romans, the parallel I shall draw of their natural dispositions and their characters will be taken upon their actions and their lives as statesmen, and I shall not pretend to criticise their orations one against the other, to show which of the two was the more charming or the more powerful speaker. For here, as Ion says, we are but *like the fish upon dry land*; a proverb which the bold Cæcilius* perhaps forgot, when he ventured on the ambitious attempt of a comparison of the two orators: and, possibly, if it were a thing obvious and easy for every man *to know himself*, the precept had not passed for an oracle. The divine

* Cæcilius was a rhetorician whose works were probably very much read in Plutarch's time. He was a Sicilian Greek, and, according to one account, a Jew in religion. He lived in the time of Augustus.

power seems originally to have designed Demosthenes and Cicero upon the same plan, giving them many similarities in their natural characters (love of distinction, love of liberty in civil life, and want of courage in dangers and war), and to have added many coincidences in their fortunes. I think there can hardly be found two other public speakers who from small and obscure beginnings became so great and mighty; who both contested with kings and tyrants; both lost their daughters; were driven out of their country, and returned with honour; who, flying from thence again, were both seized upon by their enemies, and at last ended their lives with the liberty of their countrymen. So that if we were to suppose there had been a trial of skill between nature and fortune, as there is sometimes between artists, it would be hard to judge whether the former had made them most alike in their characters, or the latter in their lives. We will speak of the eldest first.

- 4 Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was a citizen, as Theopompus informs us, of good rank and quality, and was surnamed the Sword-maker, because he had a large manufactory where he employed slaves skilled in that art. Of what Æschines the orator said of his mother, that she was the child of a certain Gylon, banished from Athens for treason, and of a barbarian woman, I can affirm nothing, whether he spoke true or slandered and maligned her. This is certain, that Demosthenes being as yet but seven years old was left by his father in affluent circumstances, the whole assessed value of his estate being little short of fifteen talents, and that he was wronged by his guardians, who embezzled part of his fortune and neglected the rest; so that even his teachers were defrauded of their

salaries. This was why he did not have the liberal education that he should have had; besides that on account of weakness and delicate health his mother would not let him exert himself, and his teachers forbore to urge him. He was meagre and sickly from the first, and had his nickname of Batalus given him, it is said, by the boys, in derision of his appearance; Batalus being, as some tell us, a certain enervated flute-player, in ridicule of whom Antiphanes wrote a play; though others speak of him as a writer of sportive verses and drinking songs. But Argas, which they say was another of his nicknames, was either given him for his temper, as being savage and spiteful, *argas* being one of the poetical words for a snake, or for his disagreeable way of speaking, Argas being the name of a poet, who composed very harshly and disagreeably. *So much, as Plato says, for such matters.*

The first occasion that called out his passion for ⁵ oratory, they say, was this. Callistratus the orator was to plead in open court in the cause of Oropus, and the excitement and interest as to the issue was very great, as well because of the ability of the speaker, who was then at the height of his reputation, as also for the fame of the action itself.* Therefore Demosthenes, having heard the tutors and schoolmasters agreeing among themselves to be present at this trial, with much importunity persuades his tutor to take him along with him to the hearing; who, having some acquaintance with the doorkeepers, procured a place where the boy might sit unseen and hear what was said. Callistratus having

* A famous case, but of uncertain date, and the circumstances unknown. Oropus was on the debateable Boeotian frontier.

got the day and being much admired, the boy regarded his glory with a kind of emulation, when he saw him receiving congratulations and attended on his way by the multitude; but his wonder was more excited by the power of the oratory, which seemed to have the faculty to subdue and win over anything. From this time, therefore, bidding farewell to other sorts of learning and study, he did nothing but practise and labour at declaiming, as if he too would be an orator. He took Isæus as his master in speaking, though Isocrates at that time was giving lessons; whether, as some say, because in his condition as an orphan he was not able to pay Isocrates his stated fee of ten minæ, or because he preferred Isæus's speaking, as being more business-like and effective in actual use. Hermippus speaks of having met with some memoirs without any author's name, in which Demosthenes was stated to have studied under Plato and to have learnt much of his eloquence from him, and mentions Ctesibius as saying, that Demosthenes secretly obtained, through Callias of Syracuse and some others, a knowledge of the systems of Isocrates and Alcidamas, and mastered them both thoroughly.

- 6 Any way, as soon as he was grown up, he went to law with his guardians and set to work to write speeches against them; who on their part did not fail to resort to various evasions and pleas for new trials; and Demosthenes, who was thus, as Thucydides says, *taught his business* not idly, but *in real dangers*, though successful in his suit, was yet unable to recover so much as a small fraction of his patrimony: all he got was some degree of confidence in speaking and some competent experience in it. And having tasted the honour

and power which are acquired by pleadings, he now essayed to come forth and take a part in political business. And, as it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that by the advice of his physician he used to run long distances to keep off some disease of his spleen, and by that means having established the habit of his body, he entered himself at the great garland games*, and became one of the best runners at the long race; so it happened to Demosthenes, who, first venturing upon oratory for the recovery of his own private property, by this means acquired ability in speaking, and at length in public business, as it were in the great games, came to have the pre-eminence of all competitors on the speaker's stand. But when he first addressed the assembly, he was received with outcries, and laughed down, people not understanding his style, which seemed to be confused in its sentences and tortured with formal arguments to a most harsh and disagreeable excess. Besides he had, it seems, a weakness in his voice, an indistinct utterance, and a shortness of breath, which disjointed his sentences, and obscured his meaning. So that at last he gave up the assembly; and as he was walking and sauntering in dejection about the Piræus, Eunomus the Thriasian, then a very old man, saw him and came up and upbraided him, telling him that his diction was more than any other man's like that of Pericles, and that he was wanting to himself through cowardice and meanness of spirit, not confronting the people boldly as he ought to do, and instead of fitting

* * The Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games, where the victors were crowned with garlands.

his body for action, letting it lose its powers through sloth and negligence.

- 7 Another time, when the assembly had refused to hear him, and he was going home with his head muffled up, taking it very heavily, they relate that Satyrus the actor followed him, and being his familiar acquaintance, entered into conversation with him. To whom when Demosthenes bemoaned himself, that having been the most industrious of all the pleaders, and having almost spent the whole strength and vigour of his body in that employment, he could not find any acceptance with the people, — that drunken sots, mariners, and illiterate fellows were heard and had the hustings for their own, while he himself was despised, “You say true, Demosthenes,” replied Satyrus, “but I will soon show you the cause of and the remedy for all this, if you will repeat to me some passage out of Euripides or Sophocles.” Which when Demosthenes had done, Satyrus taking it up after him, gave the same passage in his rendering such a new form by delivering it in the proper spirit and character, that to Demosthenes it seemed quite another thing. By this being convinced how much grace and ornament language acquires from action, he began to esteem it a small matter and as good as nothing for a man to exercise himself in declaiming, if he neglected enunciation and delivery. Hereupon he built himself a place to study in under ground (which was still remaining in our time), and hither he would come constantly every day to form his action and exercise his voice; and would go on thus very often for two or three months together, shaving one half of his head, that so for shame he might not go from home, though he desired it ever so much.

Nor was this all, but he also made his conversation 8 with people abroad, his common speech, and his business subservient to his studies, taking from hence occasions and arguments as matter to work upon. For as soon as he was parted from his company, down he would go at once into his study, and run over everything in order that had passed and the reasons that might be alleged for and against it. Any speeches also that he was present at, he would go over again with himself and reduce into periods; and whatever others spoke to him or he to them, he would correct, transform, and vary several ways. Hence it was, that he was looked upon as a person of no great natural genius, but one who owed all the skill and ability he had in speaking, to labour and industry. Of the truth of which it was thought to be no small sign, that he was very rarely heard to speak off-hand; but though he were by name frequently called upon by the people, as he sat in the assembly, yet he would not rise unless he had previously considered the subject, and came prepared for it. So that many of the popular pleaders used to make it a jest against him; and Pytheas once, scoffing at him, said that *his arguments smelt of the lamp*. To which Demosthenes gave the sharp answer, "It is true, Pytheas, that your lamp and mine would tell very different stories." To others however he would not much deny it, but would admit that he neither entirely wrote his speeches beforehand, nor yet spoke wholly extempore. And he would affirm, that it was the more truly popular act to use premeditation, such care being a kind of respect to the people; whereas to take no thought how what is said is likely to be received by the audience, shows

something of an oligarchical temper, and is the course of one that intends force rather than persuasion. Of his want of courage and assurance to speak on the moment they make it also another argument, that when he was attacked in a debate, Demades often came forward on the sudden to support him, but he was never observed to do the same for Demades.

- 9 Whence then, may some say, was it, that Æschines speaks of him as so astonishing for his boldness in speaking? Or how could it be, when Python the Byzantine *with so much confidence and such a torrent of words inveighed against** the Athenians, that Demosthenes alone stood up to oppose him? Or, when Lamachus the Myrinæan brought a panegyric upon king Philip and Alexander, full of reproach of the Thebans and Olynthians, and at the Olympic Games recited it publicly, how was it, that he, rising up and recounting historically and demonstratively what benefits and advantages all Greece had received from the Thebans and Chalcidians, and on the contrary what mischiefs the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon it, so turned the minds of all that were present, that the sophist, in alarm at the outcry against him, secretly made his way out of the assembly? But Demosthenes, it should seem, regarded other points in the character of Pericles to be unsuited to him; only his reserve and his sustained manner and his forbearing to speak immediately or upon every subject and occasion, as being the things to which principally he owed his greatness, these he followed, and endeavoured to imitate, neither wholly

* These are his own words, quoted from the Oration on the Crown.

neglecting the glory which present occasion offered, nor yet willing too often to expose his faculty to the mercy of chance. For in fact the orations which he spoke, had much more boldness and confidence than those he wrote, if we may believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comedians. Eratosthenes says that often in his speaking he would be transported into a kind of ecstasy, and Demetrius, that he uttered the famous metrical adjuration to the people,

By the earth, the springs, the rivers, and the streams,

as a man inspired, and beside himself. One of the comedians gives him a name for his *bombast* about *knick-knacks*, and another mocks him for his use of antithesis :—

*And what he took, took back ; a phrase to please
The very fancy of Demosthenes.*

Unless indeed this also is meant by Antiphanes for a jest upon the speech on Halonesus, which Demosthenes advised the Athenians not to *take* at Philip's hands, but to *take back*.*

All however agreed in considering Demades in mere 10 natural gift an orator impossible to surpass, and that in

* Halonesus had belonged to Athens, but had been seized by pirates, from whom Philip took it. He was willing to make a present of it to the Athenians, but Demosthenes warned them not on any account to *take* it, unless it were expressly understood that they *took it back* ; Philip had no right to give what it was his duty to give back. The distinction thus put was apparently the subject of a good deal of pleasantry. Athenæus quotes five other passages from the comic writers, playing upon it in the same way.

his speeches made on the moment he excelled all the study and preparation of Demosthenes. Ariston the Chian has recorded a judgment which Theophrastus passed upon the orators; for being asked what sort of orator he thought Demosthenes, he answered, "Worthy of Athens;" and then, what he thought of Demades, he answered, "More than worthy." And the same philosopher records, that Polyeuctus the Sphettian, one of the Athenian politicians about that time, was wont to say, that *Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the ablest*, as he expressed the most sense in the fewest words. And, indeed it is related that Demosthenes himself, as often as Phocion stood up to answer him, would say to his acquaintance, "Here comes the knife to my speech." Yet it does not appear whether he had this feeling for his powers of speaking or for his life and character, meaning that one word or nod from a man who was really trusted, would go further than a thousand lengthy periods from others.

- 11 Demetrius the Phalerian tells us, that he was informed by Demosthenes himself, now grown old, that the methods he made use of to remedy his natural bodily infirmities and defects were such as these; his indistinct and slovenly pronunciation he overcame and rendered articulate by repeating passages with pebbles in his mouth; his voice he disciplined by declaiming and reciting speeches or verses when he was out of breath, while running or going up steep places; and that in his house he had a large looking-glass, before which he would stand and go through his exercises. It is told that some one once came to request his assistance as a pleader, and related how he had been assaulted and

beaten. "Certainly," said Demosthenes, "nothing of the kind can have happened to you." Upon which the other, raising his voice, exclaimed loudly, "What, Demosthenes, nothing has been done to me?" "Ah," replied Demosthenes, "now I hear the voice of one that has been injured and cruelly treated." Of such consequence towards gaining belief did he esteem the tone and action of the speaker. The action which he used himself was wonderfully pleasing to the common people; but persons of taste and education, as for example Demetrius the Phalerian, looked upon his intonation as something undignified, servile, and effeminate. And Hermippus says that *Æsion* was asked his opinion of the ancient orators compared with those of his own time, and his answer was that in the actual speaking it was impossible not to admire them for the composure and the high style in which they reasoned with the people; but that the speeches of Demosthenes, when they are read, certainly appear to be superior in point of construction, and more effective.* His written speeches beyond all question are characterised by a most austere tone and by their severity: though in mere extempore retorts and rejoinders he did not abstain from mockery. When Demades said, "Demosthenes teach me! So might the sow teach Minerva!" "Was it this Minerva," he replied, "that was lately found playing the harlot in Collytus?"† When the thief, who had the nickname

* *Æsion* was a fellow-scholar with Demosthenes. The comparison in his remarks gives the superiority in manner to the old speakers, whom he remembered in his youth, but in construction to Demosthenes his cotemporary.

† "Sus Minervam," the proverb. Collytus, together with Melite, formed the south-west, and apparently the more agree-

of the Brazen, was attempting to say something about his sitting up late and writing by candlelight, "I know very well," said he, "that you had rather have all lights out; and wonder not, O men of Athens, at the many robberies which are committed, since we have thieves of brass and walls of clay." But on these points, though we have more to mention, we will add nothing at present. We proceed to take an estimate of his character from his actions and his life as a statesman.

12 His first entering into public business was during the time of the Phocian war, as he himself tells us, and as may be collected from his Philippic orations; of which some were made after that action was over, and the earliest refer to its concluding events. It is clear that he engaged in the accusation of Midias when two and thirty years old, and that at that time he had no interest or reputation as a politician. And this it was, I imagine, that induced him to withdraw the action and accept a sum of money as a compromise. For of himself

The
Phocian
war,
B.C. 357,
to 346.
The first
Philip-
pic, B.C.
352.

*He was no easy or good-natured man,**

but of a determined disposition and resolute to see himself righted; however, finding it a hard matter and above his strength to deal with Midias, a man so fortified with money, eloquence, and friends, he yielded to

able part of Athens. Plutarch, consoling a friend who was banished from his native city, tells him *people cannot all live where they like best; it is not every Athenian can live in Collytus, nor does a man consider himself a miserable exile, who has to leave a house in Melite and take one in Diomea.*

* Said of Achilles in battle after the death of Patroclus.—*Iliad* xx. 467.

the intercession made on his behalf. But had he felt himself likely and able to gain the day, I cannot believe that the three thousand drachmas could have taken off the edge of his revenge. The object which he chose for himself in political action was noble and just, to plead the cause of Greece against Philip; and so well and worthily did he do it, that he soon grew famous, and excited attention everywhere for his eloquence and courage in speaking. He was admired through all Greece, the king of Persia courted him, by Philip himself he was more regarded than all the other orators; and his very enemies were forced to confess that they had to do with a man of mark; even Æschines and Hyperides say so, when they accuse and speak against him.

So that I cannot imagine what ground Theopompus had to say, that Demosthenes was of a fickle unsettled disposition and could not long continue firm either to the same men or the same affairs. Whereas the contrary is most apparent; for the same party and post in politics which he took from the beginning, to these he kept constant to the end; and was so far from leaving them while he lived, that he chose rather to forsake his life than his purpose. He was never heard to apologise for shifting sides, like Demades, who would say, *he often spoke against himself but never against the city*; or as Melanopus, who being generally against Callistratus but being often bribed off with money, was wont to tell the people, "The man is indeed my enemy, but we must submit for the good of our country;" or as Nicodemus the Messenian, who having first appeared on Cassander's

side, and afterwards taken part with Demetrius, said the two things were not in themselves contrary, *it being always most advisable to obey the conqueror*. We have nothing of this kind to allege against Demosthenes, as one who would turn aside or prevaricate, either in word or deed. There could not have been less variation in his public acts if they had all been played, so to say, from first to last, from the same score. Panætius the philosopher says that most of his orations are *written, as if they were to prove this one conclusion, that what is honest and virtuous is for itself only to be chosen*; as that of the Crown, that against Aristocrates, that for the Immunities*, and the Philippics; in all which he persuades his fellow-citizens to pursue, not that which seems most pleasant, easy, or profitable; but repeatedly tells them to prefer what is just and honourable before their own safety and preservation. So that if he had kept his hands unsoiled on all occasions, if his courage in war had been answerable to the generosity of his principles and the dignity of his orations, he might deservedly have his name placed, not in the number of such orators as Mærocles, Polyæuctus, and Hyperides, but in the highest rank with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

- 14 Certainly amongst those cotemporary with him, Phocion, though he appeared on the less commendable side in the commonwealth and was counted as one of the Macedonian party, nevertheless by his courage and his honesty procured himself a name not inferior to those of Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demo-

* More commonly known as the oration against Leptines.

sthenes, being neither *to be relied upon*, as Demetrius says, *in arms*, nor wholly on all sides inaccessible to offers (for how invincible soever he was against the gifts of Philip and the Macedonians, yet elsewhere he lay open to assault and was carried away by the stream of gold which came down from Susa and Ecbatana), proved himself better able to recommend than to imitate the virtues of past times. And yet (excepting only Phocion) in his life and manners he far surpassed the orators of his time. None of them addressed the people so boldly; he attacked unceasingly the faults, and opposed himself to the unreasonable desires of the multitude, as may be seen in his orations. Theopompus writes that the Athenians having called upon him to accuse a certain person, he refused to do it; upon which a great outcry following, he rose and said, "Your counsellor, whether you will or no, O men of Athens, you shall always have me; but a sycophant or false accuser, though you would have me, I shall never be." And his conduct in the case of Antiphon was perfectly aristocratical; whom, after he had been acquitted in the assembly, he took and brought before the court of Areopagus, and, setting at naught the displeasure of the people, convicted him there of having promised Philip to burn the arsenal; whereupon the man was condemned by that court and suffered for it. He accused also Theoris the priestess, amongst other misdemeanours, of having instructed and taught the slaves to deceive and cheat their masters, for which the sentence of death was passed upon her, and she was executed.

Demosthenes is said to have written for Apollodorus 15

the speech by which he gained his cause against Timotheus the general in an action of debt, and also those against Phormion and Stephanus, and in this latter case was with some reason thought to have acted dishonourably, for the speech which Phormion used against Apollodorus was also of his making; he, as it were, having simply furnished two adversaries out of the same shop with weapons to wound one another. Of his public orations that against Androtion and those against Timocrates and Aristocrates were written for others, before he had come forward himself as a politician; they seem to have been composed when he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old. That against Aristogiton and that for the Immunities he spoke himself, at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, but, as some say, out of courtship to the young man's mother; though in fact he did not marry her, for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesians writes in his book on Persons of the same Name. It is not certain whether his oration against Æschines for Misconduct as Ambassador was ever spoken; although Idomeneus says that Æschines wanted only thirty voices to condemn him. But this seems not to have been the fact, if we may judge by their own language in their orations on the Crown; in which neither of them speaks clearly or directly of the cause having actually come to trial. Let others decide this controversy.

- 16 It was never a question what course he would take in politics; even during the peace he let nothing that
The Peace, B.C. 346. was done by the Macedonian pass without comment and censure, and upon all occasions kept stirring up the people

of Athens and kindling them against him. And so in the court of Philip no man was so much talked of or of such great account as he; and when he went, as one of the ten ambassadors who were sent into Macedonia, though all were listened to, yet his speech was answered by the king with most care and exactness. Not that in other respects Philip treated him as honourably as the rest, or showed to him the same favour as he did to Æschines and Philocrates. And so when they came home and extolled Philip for *his eloquence, his beautiful person, nay, and also for his plenteous drinking*, Demosthenes could not but cavil at their selection, saying *one was the praise of a rhetorician, the second that of a woman, and the last the merit of a sponge*; no one of them the proper commendation of a prince.

But when things tended at last to war, Philip on 17 the one side being not able to live in peace, and the Athenians on the other side being stirred up by Demosthenes, the first action he put them upon was an expedition to Eubœa, which by the treachery of the tyrants had become subject to Philip: and on his proposition the decree was voted, and they crossed over and drove the Macedonians out of the island. The next was the relief of the Byzantines and Perinthians, who were attacked by the Macedonians. He persuaded the people to lay aside their enmity against these cities, to forget the offences committed by either of them in the Social War, and to send them such succours as eventually saved and secured them. Next after, he went on an embassy through the states of Greece, which he solicited and so far incensed against Philip, that, a few only excepted, he brought them all into

Expedition to Eubœa, B.C. 341, 340.

Relief of Byzantium and Perinthus, B.C. 339.

a general league to resist him. So that besides the forces composed of the citizens themselves there was an army consisting of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, and the money to pay these mercenaries was levied and brought in with great cheerfulness. On which occasion it was, says Theophrastus, on the allies requesting that their contributions for the war might be ascertained and stated, Crobylus, the popular speaker, told them, *War couldn't be boarded at so much a day*. Now was all Greece up in arms, and in great expectation. The Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyræans, their people and their cities, were all in the league. But the hardest task was yet behind, left for Demosthenes, to draw the Thebans into this confederacy with the rest. Their country bordered next upon Attica, they had great forces for the war, and at that time were accounted the best soldiers of all Greece; and it was no easy matter to make them break with Philip, who had so recently laid them under obligations to him in the Phocian war; more especially as the subjects of dispute and variance between Athens and Thebes were so continually renewed and exasperated by petty quarrels arising out of the proximity of their frontiers.

- 18 But when Philip, encouraged by his good success at Amphissa, suddenly seized Elatea and possessed himself of Phocis, and the Athenians were in consternation, and none durst venture to rise up to speak, no one knew what to say, all were at a loss, and the whole assembly in silence and perplexity, in this extremity of affairs Demosthenes was the only man who appeared, his counsel to them being alliance with the Thebans.

Philip
at
Elatea,
perhaps
October
B.C. 339.

And having in other ways encouraged the people, and, as his manner was, raised their spirits up with hopes, he with some others was sent ambassador to Thebes: whither Philip also sent envoys to oppose him, two Macedonians, says Marsyas, Amyntas and Clearnchus, and Daochus a Thessalian, and Thrasydæus. The Thebans did not fail to see what course was most for their good, but every one had before his eyes the terrors of war, their losses in the Phocian troubles being still fresh in recollection. Such, however, was the *force and power of the orator, fanning up, as Theopompus says, their courage and firing their emulation, that everything else was obscured*, and casting away prudence, fear, and obligation, in a sort of divine possession they chose the path of honour, to which his words invited them. And this success, thus accomplished by an orator, was thought to be so glorious and of such consequence, that Philip immediately sent heralds to treat and petition for a peace; Greece was all aroused, and up in arms to help; the commanders of the forces, even those of the Bœotians, put themselves under the direction of Demosthenes and observed his orders; he managed all the assemblies of the Thebans, no less than those of the Athenians; he was beloved both by the one and by the other, and exercised the same supreme authority with both; and that not by unfair means, or without just cause, as Theopompus professes, but indeed it was no more than was due to his merit.

But there was, it should seem, some divinely-ordered 19 fortune, commissioned in the revolution of things to put a period at this time to the liberty of Greece, which opposed and thwarted their actions, and foreshowed

Battle
of Cha-
ronea,
B.C. 338.
August.

also by many signs what was about to happen. The Pythian priestess uttered predictions of evil; and this old oracle was repeated out of the Sibyls' verses,—

*The battle on Thermodon that shall be
Safe at a distance I desire to see,
Far, like an eagle, watching in the air,
Conquered shall weep, and conqueror perish there.*

Thermodon, they say, is a little rivulet here in our country in Chæroneia, running into the Cephisus. But



Chæroneia, the birth-place of Plutarch.

we know of none so called at the present time; and can only conjecture that the streamlet now called Hæmon, which runs by the sanctuary of Hercules, where the Greeks were encamped, might perhaps in those days be called Thermodon, and after the fight, being filled with blood and dead bodies, upon this occasion, as we guess, might change its old name for that which it now bears.

Duris, however, says that this Thermodon was no river, but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching a tent and digging a trench round it, found a small stone statue, which by some letters cut on it, appeared to be a figure of Thermodon carrying a wounded Amazon in his arms; and that there was another oracle current about it, as follows:—

*The battle on Thermodon that shall be,
Fail not, black raven, to attend and see;
The flesh of men shall there abound for thee.*

In fine, it is not easy to determine how it stands. 20 But Demosthenes, we are told, was so full of confidence in the Grecian forces, and so elevated by the sight of the courage and resolution of so many brave men ready to engage the enemy, that he would not have them give any heed to oracles or hearken to prophecies, but suspected even the prophetess herself as *one of Philip's party**; and put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, who always took their measures and governed their actions by reason, looking upon things of this kind as pretexts for cowardice. Thus far he acquitted himself like a brave man. But in the fight he did nothing honourable, or answerable to his speeches; but fled, deserting his place disgracefully, and throwing away his arms, not ashamed, as Pytheas observed, to belie the motto, "With good fortune," inscribed on his shield in gold letters. Philip, in the first moment of victory, was so transported with joy, that he grew extravagant, and going out, after he had drunk largely, to make a riotous visit to the dead

* The Pythoness, he said, was *philippizing*.

bodies, chanted the first words of the decree of Demosthenes,

*The motion of Demosthenes, Demosthenes's son,**

dividing it metrically into feet, and marking the beats. But when he came to himself, and reflected on the danger he had been in, he could not forbear from shuddering at the ability and power of the orator who had made him hazard his life and empire on the issue of a few brief hours. The fame of it also reached the court of Persia, and the king sent letters to his satraps, commanding them to supply Demosthenes with money and to pay every attention to him, as the one man of the Greeks who was able to give Philip occupation and find employment for his forces near home in the troubles of Greece. This afterwards came to the knowledge of Alexander by some letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis, and by other papers of the Persian officers, stating the large sums which had been given him.

- 21 At this time, however, after the disaster of the Greeks, the speakers of the party opposed to him, sought further to trample upon Demosthenes, and called him in various ways to an account for his conduct. But the people not only acquitted him upon these accusations, but continued towards him their former respect, and still invited him, as a lover of his country, to take a part in public affairs. When the bones of those who had been slain at Chæronea were brought home to be solemnly

* *Demósthénēs Demósthénous, Paídníeús, tad' eipen.* "Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, of the Præanian township, made this motion,"—the usual form of the commencement of a vote or resolution of the Athenian Assembly.

interred, they chose Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They did not show under the misfortunes which befell them *a base and ignoble mind*, as Theopompus writes in his exaggerated style, but, on the contrary, by the honour and respect paid to their counsellor, they made it appear that they were not dissatisfied with the counsels he had given them. The speech therefore was spoken by Demosthenes. But the subsequent decrees he would not allow to be passed in his own name, but made use of those of his friends, one after another, looking upon his own as unfortunate and inauspicious; till at length he took courage again after the death of Philip, who did not long outlive his victory at Chæronea; this, it seems, being what was foretold in the last verse of the oracle,

Conquered shall weep, and conqueror perish there.

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of 22 Philip, and laying hold of the opportunity to prepossess the people with courage and better hopes for the future, ^{Death of Philip, B.C. 336.} he came into the assembly with a cheerful countenance, pretending to have had a dream that presaged some great good fortune for Athens; and, not long after, arrived the messengers who brought the news of Philip's death. No sooner had the people received it, but immediately they offered sacrifice to the gods, and decreed that Pausanias* should be presented with a crown. Demosthenes appeared publicly in a rich dress, with a chaplet on his head, though it were but the seventh day since the death of his daughter, as is said by Æschines,

* The conspirator, who had killed Philip.

who upbraids him upon this account and rails at him as one void of natural affection towards his children. Whereas indeed he rather exposes his own poor spirit and effeminate mind, if he really means to make wailings and lamentation the signs of a gentle and affectionate nature, and to condemn those who bear such contingencies with more temper and less passion. For my own part, I do not say that it was wise or right in the people to crown themselves with garlands and to sacrifice to the gods for the death of one who in his success and victories, when they were a conquered people, had used them with so much clemency and humanity; (for, besides provoking fortune, it was unworthy in itself, to make Philip a citizen of Athens and pay him honours while he lived, and when he fell by another's hand, to set no bounds to their delight, to insult over him dead, and to sing triumphant songs, as if they by their own valour had vanquished him); yet I must at the same time commend the conduct of Demosthenes, who, leaving tears and lamentations and domestic sorrows to the women, made it his business to attend to the interests of the commonwealth. And I think it the duty of him who would be accounted to have a soul truly valiant and fit for government, that, standing always firm to the common good, and letting private griefs and troubles find their compensation in public blessings, he should maintain the dignity of his character and station, much more than actors who represent the persons of kings and tyrants, who, we see, when they either laugh or weep on the stage, follow, not their own private inclinations, but the course consistent with the plot and with their part. And if, moreover, when our

neighbour is in misfortune, it is not our duty to forbear offering any consolation, but rather to say whatever may tend to cheer him, and to invite his attention to any agreeable objects, (just as we tell people who are troubled with sore eyes, to withdraw their sight from bright and offensive colours to green and those of a softer mixture,) from whence can a man seek in his own case better arguments of consolation for afflictions in his family, than from the prosperity of his country, by making public and domestic chances count, so to say, together, and the better fortune of the state obscure, and conceal the less happy circumstances of the individual. I have been induced to say so much, because I have known many readers melted by Æschines's language into a soft and unmanly tenderness.

The cities of Greece were inspirited once more by 23 the efforts of Demosthenes to form a league together. Renewal of the war. Alexander's destruction of Thebes, B.C. 335. The Thebans, whom he had provided with arms, set upon their garrison, and slew many of them; the Athenians made preparations to join their forces with them; Demosthenes ruled supreme in the popular assembly, and wrote letters to the Persian officers who commanded under the king in Asia, inciting them to make war upon Alexander, whom he called *child and simpleton*.* But when Alexander, having settled matters in his own kingdom, came in person with his army into Bœotia, down fell the courage of the Athenians, and Demosthenes was hushed; the Thebans, deserted by them, fought by themselves, and lost their city. After

* *Child and Murgites*, the latter being the character held up to ridicule in an old poem ascribed to Homer,—the boy who, though fully grown up, has never attained the sense or wits of a man.

which the people of Athens, all in distress and great perplexity, resolved to send ambassadors to Alexander, and amongst others, made choice of Demosthenes for one; but his heart failing him for fear of the king's anger, he returned back from Cithæron and left the embassy. Alexander sent at once to Athens, requiring, as Idomeneus and Duris state, ten orators to be delivered up to him, but as the most and best historians say, these eight,—Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Mærocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus. It was upon this occasion that Demosthenes related to them the fable in which the sheep are said to *deliver up their dogs to the wolves*; himself and those who with him contended for the people's safety being, in his comparison, the dogs that defended the flock, and Alexander *the Macedonian arch-wolf*. And "as we see corn-dealers," he said, "carry about a few grains of wheat in a dish as a sample, and by that sell all the stock, so you, by delivering up us, do at the same time unawares surrender all yourselves together with us;" so Aristobulus the Cassandrian relates. The Athenians were deliberating and at a loss what to do, when Demades, having agreed with the persons whom Alexander had demanded, for five talents, undertook to go ambassador and intercede with the king for them; whether it was that he relied on his kindness, or hoped to find him satiated, as a lion glutted with slaughter. Certainly, however, he went, and prevailed with him to pardon the men and to be reconciled to the city.

24 So he and his friends, when Alexander went away,

Defeat of Agis, B.C. 331. were great men, and Demosthenes was quite put aside. When Agis the Spartan made his attempt, he also

made some sort of movement in his favour; but soon withdrew, as the Athenians would take no part in it, and Agis was slain, and the Lacedæmonians overpowered. During this time however the indictment against Ctesiphon concerning the Crown was brought to trial. It had been first commenced when Chæronidas was archon, a little before the battle in Chæronea, but it was only proceeded with ten years after, in the year of Aristophon, and was then famous beyond any public cause that ever was tried, alike for the renown of the orators and for the generous courage of the judges, who, though at that time the accusers of Demosthenes were in the height of power and supported by the favour of Macedonians, yet would not give judgment against him, but acquitted him so honourably, that Æschines did not obtain the fifth part of their suffrages on his side; so that immediately after he left the city, and spent the rest of his life in teaching rhetoric about the island of Rhodes and upon the continent in Ionia.

Cause
of the
Crown,
B.C. 351.

It was not long after that Harpalus fled from Alexander and came out of Asia to Athens, knowing himself guilty of many misdeeds into which his love of luxury had led him, and fearing the king, who was now grown terrible to his friends. No sooner had he addressed himself to the people and delivered up his goods, his ships and himself to their disposal, but the other orators of the town had their eyes quickly fixed upon his money and came in to his assistance, persuading the Athenians to receive and protect their suppliant. Demosthenes at first gave advice to chase him out of the country, and to beware lest they involved their city in a war, upon an unnecessary and unjust occasion. But some few days

25
Harpalus in
Athens,
B.C. 324.

after, as they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus, perceiving how much he was pleased with a cup of Persian manufacture, and how curiously he inspected the sculpture and make of it, desired him to poise it in his hand and consider the weight of the gold. Demosthenes, amazed to feel how heavy it was, asked him *what weight it came to*. "To you," said Harpalus, smiling, "it shall come with twenty talents." And presently after, when it was night, he sent him the cup with so many talents. Harpalus, it seems, was a person of singular skill to discern a man's covetousness by the air of his countenance and the look and movements of his eyes. For Demosthenes did not resist the temptation, but admitting the present, like an armed garrison, into the citadel of his house, he surrendered himself up to the interest of Harpalus. The next day he came into the assembly with his neck swathed about with wool and bandages, and when they called on him to rise up and speak, he made signs as if he had lost his voice. But the wits, turning the matter to ridicule, said that *certainly the orator had been seized that night with no other than a silver quinsy*. And soon after, the people, becoming aware of the bribery, grew angry, and would not suffer him to speak or make any apology for himself, but ran him down with noise; and one man stood up and cried out, "What, ye men of Athens, will you not hear the cup-bearer?"* So at length they banished Harpalus out of the city; and fearing lest they should be called to account for the treasure which the

* It was the custom of drinking parties, to pass the cup round, and for each man, as he held it in his hand, to sing some verses. The cup in the hand was therefore the signal for listening.

orators had purloined, they made a strict inquisition from house to house; missing none but that of Callicles the son of Arrhenides, who had just married, and this out of respect, as Theopompus writes, to the bride who was within, they did not allow to be entered.

Demosthenes resisted this inquiry, and proposed a 26
 decree to refer the business to the court of Areopa-
 gus, and to banish those whom that court should find Con-
 demna-
 tion and
 exile of
 Demo-
 sthenes,
 B.C. 324.
 guilty. But being himself one of the first whom
 the court condemned, when he came to trial, he was
 fined fifty talents, and committed to prison; where, out
 of shame of the charge upon which he was condemned,
 and through the weakness of his body, growing incapa-
 ble of supporting the confinement, he made his escape,
 by the carelessness of some and by the connivance of
 others of the citizens. We are told at least that he had
 not fled far from the city, when, finding that he was
 pursued by some of those who had been his adversaries,
 he endeavoured to hide himself; but when they called
 him by name, and coming up nearer, desired he would
 accept from them some money which they had brought
 from home as a provision for his journey, and for that
 purpose only had followed him, when they entreated
 him also to take courage and bear up against his mis-
 fortune, he burst out into much greater lamentation
 saying, "But how is it possible to be otherwise than in
 affliction, since I leave a city in which I have such
 enemies, as in any other it is not easy to find friends."
 He did not show much fortitude in his banishment,
 spending his time for the most part in Ægina and
 Trœzen, and with tears in his eyes looking towards
 Attica. And there are sayings of his recorded scarcely

in keeping with those sentiments of generosity and bravery, which he had expressed in his former days as a public man. As he was departing out of the city, it is said, he lifted up his hands towards the Acropolis, and exclaimed, "O Lady Minerva, how is it that thou takest delight in three such fierce untractable creatures, the owl, the snake, and the people?" The young men that came to visit and converse with him, he deterred from meddling with state affairs, telling them, that *if at first two ways had been proposed to him, the one leading to the speaker's stand and the assembly, the other going direct to destruction, and he could have foreseen the many evils which attend those who deal in public business, such as fears, envies, calumnies, and contentions, he would certainly have taken that which led straight on to his death.*

27 But now happened the death of Alexander, while Demosthenes was in this banishment we have been speaking of. And the Grecians were once again up in arms, Leosthenes doing bravely, and drawing a circumvallation about Antipater, whom he held besieged in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, and Callimedon, called the Crab, fled from Athens, and taking the side of Antipater, went about with his friends and ambassadors to keep the Grecians from revolting and taking part with the Athenians. But on the other side Demosthenes, associating himself with the ambassadors that came from Athens, used his utmost endeavours and gave them his best assistance in persuading the cities to fall unanimously upon the Macedonians, and to drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus says that in Arcadia there happened a rencounter between Pytheas and Demo-

Death
of Alex-
ander,
B.C. 323.
The
Lamian
War.

sthenes, which came at last to downright railing, while the one pleaded for the Macedonians, and the other for the Grecians. Pytheas said, that *as we always suppose there is some disease in the family to which they bring asses' milk, so wherever there comes an embassy from Athens, that city must needs be indisposed.* And Demosthenes answered him, retorting the comparison: "Asses' milk is brought to restore health, and the Athenians come for the safety and recovery of the sick." The people of Athens were well pleased, and decreed his recal from banishment. The decree was brought in by Demon the Pæanian, cousin to Demosthenes. They sent him a ship to Ægina, and he landed at the Piræus, where he was met and joyfully received by all the citizens, not so much as an Archon or a priest staying behind. And Demetrius the Magnesian says, that he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and blessed this day of his happy return, *as far more honourable than that of Alcibiades*; since he was recalled by his countrymen, not through any force or constraint put upon them, but by their own good-will and free inclination. There remained only his pecuniary fine, which according to law, could not be remitted by the people. But they found out a way to elude the law. It was customary to allow a certain quantity of money to those who were to furnish and adorn the altar for the sacrifice of Jupiter the Saviour. So this office for that occasion they bestowed on Demosthenes, and for the performance of it ordered him fifty talents, the very sum in which he was condemned.

Yet it was no long time that he enjoyed his country 28 after his return, the attempts of the Greeks being soon

Battle
of Cra-
non,
B.C. 322.
August.

Mace-
donian
occu-
pation
of
Athens,
Septem-
ber.

all utterly defeated. For the battle at Cranon happened in Metagitnion, in Boëdromion the garrison entered into Munychia, and in the Pyanepsion following died Demosthenes in the following manner. Upon the report that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes with his party took their opportunity to escape privily out of the city; but sentence of death was, upon the motion of Demades, passed upon them by the people. They dispersed themselves, flying some to one place, some to another; and Antipater sent about his soldiers into all quarters to apprehend them. Archias was their captain, and was thence called the exile-hunter. He was a Thurian born, and is reported to have been an actor of tragedies, and they say that Polus of Ægina, the best actor of his time, was his scholar; Hermippus however reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus the orator, and Demetrius says, he studied with Anaximenes. This Archias finding Hyperides the orator, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerian, in Ægina, took them by force out of the sanctuary of Æacus, whither they were fled for safety, and sent them to Antipater, then at Cleonæ, where they were all put to death: and Hyperides, they say, had his tongue cut out.

29 Demosthenes, he heard, had taken sanctuary at the temple of Neptune in Calauria, and, crossing over thither in some light vessels, as soon as he had landed himself, and the Thracian spearmen that came with him, he endeavoured to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, as if he should meet with no hard usage from him. But Demosthenes, in his sleep the night before, had a strange dream. It seemed to him

Death of
Demo-
sthenes,
October.

that he was acting a tragedy, and contended with Archias; and though he acquitted himself well, and gave good satisfaction to the spectators, yet for want of better furniture and provision for the stage, he lost the day. And so, while Archias was discoursing to him with many expressions of kindness, he sate still in the same posture, and looking up stedfastly upon him, "O Archias," said he, "I am as little affected by your promises now as I used formerly to be by your acting." Archias at this beginning to grow angry and to threaten him, "Now," said Demosthenes, "you speak like the genuine Macedonian oracle; before you were but acting a part. Therefore wait only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family." Having thus spoken, he withdrew into the temple, and taking a scroll, as if he meant to write, he put the reed into his mouth, and biting it, as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for some time. Then he bowed down his head and covered it. The soldiers that stood at the door, supposing all this to proceed from want of courage and fear of death, in derision called him faint-hearted and coward. And Archias, drawing near, desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind things he had spoken before, once more promised him to make his peace with Antipater. But Demosthenes, perceiving that now the poison had pierced and seized his vitals, uncovered his head, and fixing his eyes upon Archias, "Now," said he, "as soon as you please you may commence the part of Creon in the tragedy, and cast out this body of mine unburied. But, O gracious Neptune, I, for my part, while I am yet alive, arise up and depart out of this sacred place; though

Antipater and the Macedonians have not left so much as thy temple unpolluted." After he had thus spoken and desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger, as he was going forward and passing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghost.

- 30 Ariston says that he took the poison out of the reed, as we have related. But a certain Pappus, whose account is preserved by Hermippus, says, that as he fell near the altar, there was found in his scroll this beginning only of a letter, and nothing more, "Demosthenes to Antipater." And that when his sudden death was much wondered at, the Thracians who guarded the doors, reported that he took the poison into his hand out of a rag, and put it in his mouth, and that they imagined it had been gold which he swallowed; and the maid that served him, being examined by the followers of Archias, affirmed that he had worn it for a long time, as an amulet. And Eratosthenes also says that he kept the poison in a hollow ring, and that that ring was the bracelet which he wore about his arm. There are various other statements made by the many authors who have related the story, but there is no need to enter into their discrepancies; yet I must not omit what is said by Demochares, the relation of Demosthenes, who says, in his belief it was not by poison that he met with so sudden and so easy a death, but that *by the singular favour and providence of the gods he was thus rescued from the cruelty of the Macedonians*. He died on the sixteenth of Pyanepsion, the most sad and solemn day of the Thesmophoria, which the women observe by fasting in the temple of the goddess. Soon after his

death, the people of Athens bestowed on him such honours as he had deserved. They erected his statue of brass; they decreed that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the Prytaneum; and on the base of his statue was engraven the famous inscription,—

*Had you for Greece been strong, as wise you were,
The Macedonian had not conquered her.*

For it is simply ridiculous to say, as some have related, that Demosthenes made these verses himself in Calauria, as he was about to take the poison.

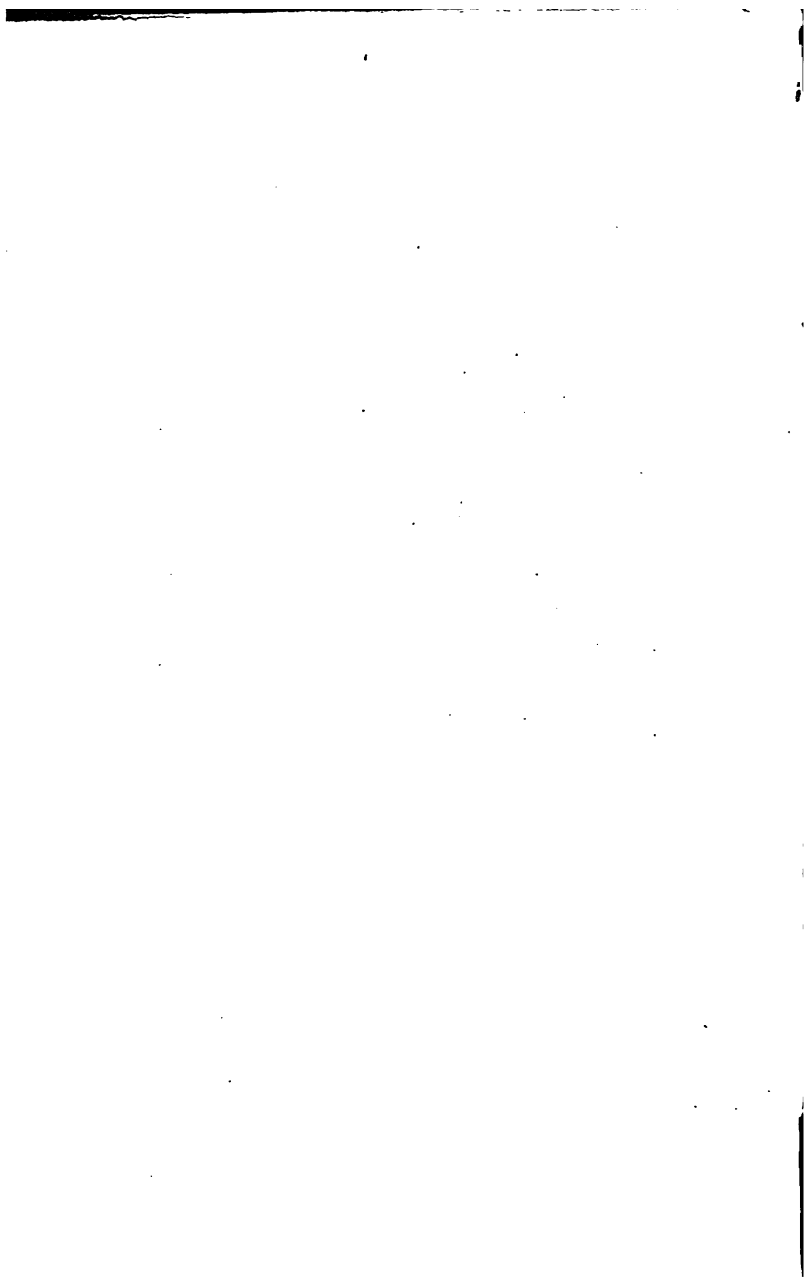
A little before we went to Athens, the following incident was said to have happened. A soldier, being summoned to appear before his superior officer, and answer to an accusation brought against him, put that little gold which he had into the hands of Demosthenes's statue. The fingers of this statue were folded one within another, and near it grew a small plane-tree, from which many leaves, either accidentally blown thither by the wind, or placed so on purpose by the man himself, falling together, and lying round about the gold, concealed it for a long time. In the end, the soldier returned, and found his treasure entire, and the fame of this incident was spread abroad. And many ingenious persons of the city competed with each other, on this occasion, to vindicate the integrity of Demosthenes, in several epigrams which they made on the subject. As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he now came in for, divine vengeance for the death of Demosthenes pursuing him into Macedonia, where he was justly put to death by those whom he had basely flattered. They were weary of him before, but at this time the guilt he lay under was manifest

and undeniable. For some of his letters were intercepted, in which he had encouraged Perdiccas to fall upon Macedonia, and to save the Grecians, who, he said, *hung only by an old rotten thread*, meaning Antipater. Of this he was accused by Dinarchus the Corinthian, and Cassander was so enraged, that he first slew his son in his bosom, and then gave orders to execute him; who might now at last, by his own extreme misfortunes, learn the lesson, that traitors, who make sale of their country, sell themselves first; a truth which Demosthenes had often foretold him, and he would never believe. Thus, Sosius, you have the life of Demosthenes, from such accounts as we have either read or heard concerning him.



Present state of the Parthenon.

ALEXANDER.





Alexander on Bucephalus

It being my purpose to write the lives of Alexander the king, and among the Romans of Cæsar, by whom Pompey was overthrown, let me at once, with so vast a field before me, forewarn my readers to expect of me no detailed account of all their famous actions, but rather, for the most of them, a mere epitome. Let it be borne in mind that I am writing, not histories, but lives. And the most splendid exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest evidence of virtue or vice in men ; sometimes a trifling matter, an expression or a jest, gives a better insight into characters than the most famous sieges, the greatest armaments, or the bloodiest battles whatsoever. And thus as portrait-painters draw their

likenesses from the lines and features of the face, in which the character is seen, and take little account of the body, so I may be allowed to devote my attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men, and while I endeavour by these to portray their lives, may be free to leave the great matters and the battles to be treated of by others.

- 2 It is generally accepted, that on the father's side, Alexander descended from Hercules by Caranus, and from Æacus by Neoptolemus on the mother's side. His father Philip, being in Samothrace, when he was quite young, fell in love there with Olympias, herself a girl without father or mother, in company with whom he was initiated in the ceremonies of the country*, and soon after got the consent of her brother Arymbas, and married her. The young bride, before the night of the consummation of their marriage, dreamt that a thunderbolt fell upon her body, which kindled a great fire, whose divided flames dispersed themselves all about, and then were extinguished. And Philip, some time after he was married, dreamt that he sealed up his wife's body with a seal, bearing the impression, as he fancied, of the figure of a lion. The other diviners interpreted this as a warning to him to look narrowly to his wife; but Aristander of Telmessus, considering how unusual it is to seal up anything that was empty, assured him the meaning of his dream was, that the queen was with child of a boy, who would one day prove as bold and courageous as a lion. Once, moreover, a serpent was seen lying by Olympias as she slept, which more than anything else, it is said, abated Philip's passion for her; and whether he feared her as an enchantress, or thought

* The Samothracian or Cabiric Mysteries.

she was visited by some superior being, and so looked on himself as excluded, he was ever after less fond of her conversation. Others say, that the women of this country, having always been extremely addicted to the enthusiastic Orphic rites, and the wild worship of Bacchus (upon which account they were called Clodones, and Mimallones), observed in many points the practices of the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus, from whom the word *threskeuein** seems to have been derived, as a term for superfluous and over-curious forms of adoration; and that Olympias, in her pursuit of these wild and fanatical inspirations, to perform them with more barbaric dread, was wont in the dances to have great tame serpents about her, which sometimes creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, sometimes turning about the sacred spears and the women's chaplets, made a spectacle which the men could not look upon without terror.

Philip, we are told, after this vision, sent Chæron of 3 Megalopolis to consult the oracle at Delphi, by which he was commanded to do sacrifice to Ammon, and henceforth pay honour above other gods to him; and was told he should one day lose that eye with which through

* *Threskeuein*, as though from *Thressa*, a Thracian woman. It is a word that occurs several times in the New Testament,—“voluntary humility and *worshipping* of angels;” “If any man among you seem to be *religious*, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's *religion* is vain. Pure *religion* and undefiled before God,” etc. It was naturally, from the notion of performances for the propitiation of a deity, extended to that of habits and practices of religious living, and was in this way a suitable word for what we call a religion, “according to the most straitest sect of our *religion*.”

July,
B.C. 356.

the chink of the door he saw the god under the form of a serpent visiting his wife. Eratosthenes says Olympias, when she went with Alexander on his way to the army in his first expedition, told him the secret of his birth, and bade him *behave suitably to his divine extraction*; but others say she wholly disclaimed any such pretensions, and used to ask *when Alexander would leave off maligning her to Juno?* Alexander was born on the sixth of Hecatombæon, which the Macedonians call Lōus, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt; which Hegesias of Magnesia makes the occasion of a conceit, frigid enough to have stopped the conflagration. The temple, he says, took fire and was burnt *while its mistress was absent, assisting at the birth of Alexander*. All the Eastern soothsayers* who happened to be then at Ephesus, looking upon the ruin of this temple to be the forerunner of some other calamity, ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying, that this day had brought forth something that would prove fatal and destructive to all Asia. Just after Philip had taken Potidæa, he received these three messages at one time, that Parmenio had overthrown the Illyrians in a great battle, that his race-horse had won the course at the Olympic games, and that his wife had given birth to Alexander; with which being naturally well pleased, as an addition to his satisfaction, he was assured by the

* Eastern soothsayers is in the Greek literally *Magians*, which however Plutarch perhaps does not use in its strict original sense. Diana, it will be remembered, was the goddess who gave assistance in child-birth. The epithet *cold* was the ordinary Greek expression in the case of a poor joke, or a stupid, unsuccessful piece of wit.

diviners that a son, whose birth was accompanied with three such successes, could not fail of being invincible.

The statues that give the best representation of Alexander's person, are those of Lysippus (by whom alone he desired to be taken), those peculiarities which many of his successors afterwards and his friends used to affect to imitate, the inclination of his head a little on one side towards his left shoulder, and his moist eye, having been preserved by this artist with great exactness. Apelles, who drew him with thunderbolts in his hand, made his complexion browner and darker than it was naturally; for he was, they say, fair and of a light colour, passing into ruddiness in his face and upon his breast. Aristoxenus in his Memoirs tells us that a most agreeable odour exhaled from his skin, and that his breath and his body all over was so fragrant as to perfume the clothes which he wore next him; the cause of which might probably be the hot and adust temperament of his body. For sweet smells, Theophrastus conceives, are produced by the concoction of moist humours by heat, which is the reason that those parts of the world which are driest and most burnt up, afford spices of the best kind and in the greatest quantity; for the heat of the sun exhausts all the superfluous moisture which lies in the surface of bodies, ready to generate putrefaction. And this hot constitution, it may be, rendered Alexander so addicted to drinking, and so choleric. His temperance, as to the pleasures of the body, was apparent in him in his very childhood, as he was with much difficulty incited to them, and always used them with great moderation, though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement; and in his love of glory, and the pursuit of

it, he showed a solidity of high spirit and a magnanimity far above his age. For he neither sought nor valued it upon every occasion, as his father Philip did (who used to display his eloquence like a common rhetoric-teacher, and had the victories of his racing chariots at the Olympic games engraved upon his coin), but when he was asked by some about him, whether he would run a race in the Olympic games, as he was very swift-footed, he answered, he would, *if he might have kings to run with him*. Indeed, he seems in general to have looked with indifference, if not with dislike, upon the professed athletes. He often appointed prizes, for which not only tragedians and musicians, pipers and harpers, but rhapsodists also, strove to outvie one another ; and delighted in all manner of hunting and cudgel-playing, but never gave any encouragement to contests either of boxing or of the *pancratium*.*

- 5 While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambassadors from the king of Persia, in the absence of his father, and entering much into conversation with them, gained so much upon them by his affability and the questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling (for he inquired of them the length of the ways, the nature of the road into inner Asia, the character of their king, how he conducted himself against his enemies, and what kind and amount of forces Persia brought into the field), that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the ability, so highly renowned, of Philip, to be nothing in comparison with the forwardness and high purpose that appeared thus early in his son. Whenever he heard Philip had taken

* Rhapsodists were reciters of Epic verses. In the *pancratium*, wrestling and boxing were combined.

any town of importance or won any signal victory, instead of rejoicing at it altogether, he would tell his companions that his father would anticipate everything, and leave him and them no hope of performing any great or famous action. For being more bent upon action and glory than either upon pleasure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father as a diminution and prevention of his own future achievements; and wished rather to succeed to a kingdom involved in troubles, conflicts, and wars, which would afford him exercise of his courage and a field of honour, than to one already flourishing and settled, where his inheritance would be an inactive life and the mere enjoyment of wealth and luxury. The care of his education, as it might be presumed, was committed to a great many attendants, preceptors, and teachers, over the whole of whom Leonidas, a kinsman of Olympias, a man of an austere temper, presided, who did not indeed himself decline the name of what in reality is a noble and honourable office*, but in general his dignity and near relationship obtained him from other people the title of Alexander's foster-father and governor; and he who took upon him the actual place and style of his pedagogue, was Lysimachus the Acarnanian, who, though he had nothing specially to recommend him but his lucky fancy of calling himself Phœnix, Alexander, Achilles, and Philip Peleus, was much in favour, and ranked in the next degree after Leonidas.

* The *pædagogus*, or pedagogue, was commonly a superior slave, who took the boy about. "Phœnix, father, old friend, protected by Zeus,"—was famous from the speeches of book ix. of the *Iliad*, as having tended the child Achilles, with whose father Peleus he had taken refuge.

6 Philonicus the Thessalian brought the horse Bucephalas* to Philip, offering to sell him for thirteen talents; but when they went into the field to try him, they pronounced him vicious and unmanageable; he reared up when they endeavoured to mount him, and would not endure the voice of any of Philip's attendants. Upon which, as they were leading him away as wholly useless and untractable, Alexander, who stood by, said, "What an excellent horse do they lose, for want of address and boldness to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of what he said; but when he heard him repeat the same thing several times, and saw he was much vexed to see the horse sent away, "Do you reproach," said he to him, "those who are older than yourself, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage a horse than they?" "I could manage this horse," replied he, "better than others do." "And if you do not," said Philip, "what will you forfeit for your rashness?" "I will pay," answered Alexander, "the whole price of the horse." At this the company fell a laughing; and as soon as the wager was settled amongst them, he immediately ran to the horse, and taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the sun, having, it seems, observed that he was disturbed at and afraid of the motion of his own shadow; then letting him go forward and running along a little, and stroking him gently, when he found him begin to grow eager and fiery, he let fall his upper garment softly, and with one leap securely mounted him, and when he was seated, by little and little drew in the bridle, and curbed him without

* Bucephalas, not Bucephalus, appears to be the correct form, though authority is not wanting for the latter.

either striking or spurring him. Presently, when he found him free from all rebelliousness, and only impatient for the course, he let him go at full speed, inciting him with a commanding voice, and urging him also with his heel. Philip and his friends looked on at first in silence and anxiety for the result, till seeing him turn at the end of his career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burst out into acclamations of applause; and his father, shedding tears, it is said, for joy, kissed him as he came down from his horse, and in his transport said, "O my son, look thee out a kingdom equal to and worthy of thyself, for Macedon is too little for thee."

After this, seeing him to be of a temper easy to be led to duty by reason, but by no means to be compelled, he always endeavoured to persuade rather than command or force him to anything, and thinking the instruction and tuition of his youth to be of greater difficulty and importance, than to be wholly trusted to the ordinary masters in music and poetry and the common school subjects, and to require, as Sophocles says,

The bridle and the rudder too,

he sent for Aristotle, the most learned and most celebrated philosopher of his time, and rewarded him for his services with a suitable and becoming munificence. For he repeopled his native city, Stagira, which he had caused to be demolished a little before, and restored all the citizens, who were in exile or slavery, to their habitations. As a place for the pursuit of their studies and exercises, he assigned the sanctuary of the Nymphs, near Mieza, where, to this very day, they show you Aristotle's stone seats, and the shady walks which he

frequented. It would appear that Alexander received from him not only his doctrines of Morals and of Politics, but also something of those more abstruse and profound theories, which these philosophers, by the very names they gave them*, professed to reserve for oral communication to the initiated, and did not allow many to become acquainted with. For when he was



Bust of Aristotle.

in Asia, and heard Aristotle had published some treatises of that kind, he wrote to him, using very plain language to him in behalf of philosophy, the following letter. "Alexander to Aristotle greeting. You have not done well to publish your books of Oral doctrine; for what is there now that we excel others in, if those things which we have been instructed in be laid open to all? For my part, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of what is excellent, than in power and dominion. Farewell." And Aristotle, soothing this passion for pre-eminence, speaks, in his excuse for himself, of these

* *Acroamatica* and *Epoptica*, Oral and Secret, were terms applied by the Peripatetics (the philosophers of Aristotle's school) to what we should call Esoteric doctrines. *Acroama* is a thing listened to, and *epoptes* (see p. 167, note) was the name for one who had been admitted to the Greater Mysteries.

doctrines, as in fact *both published and not published*: as indeed, to say the truth, his books on Metaphysics are written in a style which makes them useless for ordinary teaching, and serviceable only, in the way of memoranda, for those who have been already instructed in the subject.*

Doubtless also it was to Aristotle that he owed the inclination he had, not to the theory only, but likewise to the practice of the art of medicine. When any of his friends were sick, he would prescribe for them, and give directions for their treatment and course of diet, as may be seen in his letters. He was naturally a great lover also of all kinds of learning and reading. Onesicritus informs us, that he constantly laid Homer's Iliad, according to the copy which he had had corrected by Aristotle, called the casket copy, with his dagger under his pillow, declaring it a perfect *portable treasure of military virtue*. When he was in the Upper Asia, being destitute of other books, he ordered Harpalus to send him some; who furnished him with Philistus's history, a great many of the plays of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and the dithyrambic odes of Telestes and Philoxenus. For a while he loved and cherished Aristotle no less, as he was wont to say himself, than if he had been his father; *as he had received life from the one, so the other had taught him to live well*. Afterwards, upon some mistrust of him, yet not so great as to make him do him any hurt, his familiarity and friendly kindness to him abated so much of its former force and affectionateness, as to make it evident he was alienated from him. However, his violent

* The Ethics and Politics were meant for general reading: the Metaphysics were heads of his lectures to his advanced pupils.

thirst after and passion for learning, which were once implanted, and had grown up with him, never decayed; as appears by his veneration of Anaxarchus, by the present of fifty talents which he sent to Xenocrates, and the care he took of Dandamis and Calanus.

9 While Philip went on his expedition against the Byzantines, he left Alexander, then sixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia, committing the charge of his seal to him; who, not to sit idle, reduced the rebellious Mædi, and having taken their town, drove out the barbarous inhabitants, and planting a colony of several nations in their room, called the place after his own name, Alexandropolis. At the battle of Chæronea, which his father fought against the Grecians, he is said to have been the first man that charged the Thebans' Sacred Band. And even in my remembrance, there stood an old oak near the river Cephissus, which people called Alexander's oak, because his tent on that occasion was pitched under it. And not far off are the graves of the Macedonians who fell in the battle. This early bravery made Philip so fond of him, that he even delighted to hear his subjects call himself their general and Alexander their king. But the disorders of his family, chiefly caused by his new marriages and attachments (the troubles that began in the women's chambers spreading, so to say, to the whole kingdom), raised various complaints and differences between them, which the violence of Olympias, a woman of a jealous and resentful temper, made wider, by exasperating Alexander against his father. The most signal was at the wedding of Cleopatra (whom Philip fell in love with and married, she being much too young for him), when her uncle Attalus in his drink desired the Mace-

Siege of
Byzan-
tium,
B.C. 340-
339.

Battle
of Chæ-
ronea,
B.C. 338.

donians to pray the gods to give them a lawful successor to the kingdom by his niece. This so irritated Alexander, that throwing one of the cups at him, "You villain," said he, "what, am I then a bastard?" Then Philip got up and made at his son with his sword; but by good fortune for them both, either his rage, or the wine he had drunk, made him slip, and fall on the floor. At which Alexander insulted over him: "See there," said he, "the man, who makes preparations to pass out of Europe into Asia, overturned in passing from one seat to another." After this drunken scene, he and his mother Olympias withdrew from Philip's company, and when he had placed her in Epirus, he himself retired into Illyria. About which time, Demaratus the Corinthian, an old friend of the family, who might say his mind among them without offence, coming to visit Philip, after the first compliments and embraces were over, Philip asked him, *whether the Grecians were at amity with one another.* "It ill becomes you," replied Demaratus, "to be so solicitous about Greece, when you have involved your own house in so many dissensions and calamities." This reproach brought him to reason, and he sent presently for his son home, and with Demaratus's help induced him to return.

Afterwards, however, when Pixodorus, viceroy of 10 Caria, sent Aristocritus to treat for a match between his eldest daughter and Philip's son Arrhidæus, hoping by this alliance to secure his assistance upon occasion, Alexander's mother and friends presently beset him with tales and calumnies, as if Philip, by a splendid marriage and important alliance, were preparing the way for settling the kingdom upon Arrhidæus. In alarm at this,

he despatched Thessalus, the tragic actor, into Caria, to dispose Pixodorus to slight Arrhidæus, both as illegitimate and a fool, and rather to ask for Alexander as his son-in-law. This proposal was far more agreeable to Pixodorus than the former. But Philip, choosing a time when his son was alone, went to his apartment, taking with him Philotas the son of Parmenio, one of Alexander's intimate friends and companions, and there chid him severely, and reproached him bitterly, that he should be so degenerate and unworthy of the power he was some day to have, as to desire the alliance of a mean Carian, who was at best but the slave of a barbarian prince. He wrote also to the Corinthians to send Thessalus to him in chains, and banished Harpalus, Nearchus, Erigyius, and Ptolemy, his son's companions; whom Alexander afterwards recalled, and raised to great honour. But when Pausanias, having had an outrage done to him at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra,

Death of
Philip,
B.C. 336.

for which he could obtain no reparation, murdered Philip, the guilt of the act was laid for the most part upon Olympias, who was said to have encouraged and exasperated the enraged youth to revenge; and some sort of suspicion attached even to Alexander himself, who, it was said, when Pausanias came and complained to him of the injury he had received, repeated the verse out of Euripides's *Medea*:—

*On husband, bride, and him that gave the bride.**

* Upon all of whom, says Jason, in the speech from which the line is quoted, *Medea* is threatening to take her revenge: Jason, Creusa, and Creon in the play; Philip, Cleopatra, and Attalus in the allusion.

However, he took care to find out and punish the accomplices of the conspiracy severely, and was indignant with Olympias for treating Cleopatra inhumanly in his absence.

Alexander was but twenty years old, when he suc- 11
ceeded to a kingdom beset on all sides with hostility, hatred, and danger. For not only the barbarous nations that bordered on Macedonia were impatient of being governed by any but their own native princes, but in Greece also, Philip, though he had been victorious in the war, yet, as the time had not been sufficient for him to complete his conquest and accustom people to his sway, had simply left all things in a general disorder and confusion. It seemed to the Macedonians a very critical time; and some would have persuaded Alexander to give up all thought of retaining the Greeks in subjection by force of arms, and apply himself rather to win back by gentle means the allegiance of the tribes who were designing revolt, and try the effect of indulgence in arresting the first motions towards revolution. But he, with quite another mind, and following the very opposite course of argument, resolved, by boldness and a lofty bearing, himself to earn the safety of his kingdom, which one slightest act of concession would encourage all to assail. He reduced the barbarians to tranquillity, and put an end to all fear of war from them, by a rapid expedition into their country as far as the river Danube, where he gave Syrmus, king of the Triballians, an entire overthrow. And hearing the Thebans were in revolt, and the Athenians in correspondence with them, he immediately marched through the pass of Thermopylæ, saying that to *Demosthenes who had called him a child*

Destruction of
Thebes,
B.C. 335.

while he was in Illyria and in the country of the Triballians, and a youth when he was in Thessaly, he would appear a man before the walls of Athens. When he came before Thebes, to show how willing he was to accept their repentance for what was past, he only demanded of them Phœnix and Prothytes, and proclaimed a general pardon to those who would come over to him. But when the Thebans merely retorted by demanding Philotas and Antipater to be delivered up to them, and by a proclamation on their part, invited all who would assert the liberty of Greece to come over to them, he led on the Macedonians to the attack against them. The Thebans indeed defended themselves with a zeal and courage beyond their strength, being many times outnumbered by their enemies. But when also the Macedonian garrison sallied out upon them from the Cadmea, they were so hemmed in on all sides, that the greater part of them fell in the battle; and the city itself was taken, sacked, and razed, Alexander's hope being that so severe an example might terrify the rest of Greece into obedience, and in order also to gratify the hostility of his confederates, the Phocians and Plateans. So that except the priests, and some few who had heretofore been the friends and connections of the Macedonians, the family of the poet Pindar, and those who were known to have opposed the public vote for the war, all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were publicly sold for slaves; upwards of six thousand having fallen by the sword.

- 12 Among the many sad calamities that befell in the city, it happened that some Thracian soldiers having entered and plundered the house of a matron of high

character and repute, named Timoclea, their captain, after he had used violence with her, to satisfy his avarice also, asked her, if she knew of any money concealed; to which she answered she did, and bade him follow her into a garden, where she showed him a well, into which, she told him, upon the taking of the city she had thrown what she had of most value. The greedy Thracian presently stooping down to view the place where he thought the treasure lay, she came behind him, and pushed him into the well, and then flung stones in upon him, till she had killed him. After which, when the soldiers led her away bound to Alexander, her very mien and bearing showed her to be a woman of dignity, and of a mind no less elevated, not betraying the least sign of fear or astonishment. And when the king asked her who she was, "I am," said she, "the sister of Theagenes, who fought the battle of Chæronea with your father Philip, and fell there in command for the liberty of Greece." Alexander was so surprised, both at what she had done, and what she said, that he could not choose but give her and her children their freedom to go whither they pleased.

After this he received the Athenians into favour, 13 although they had shown themselves so much concerned at the calamity of Thebes, that out of sorrow they omitted the celebration of the Mysteries, and entertained those who escaped with all possible humanity. Whether it were, like the lion, that his passion was now satisfied, or that after an example of extreme cruelty he had a mind to appear merciful, it happened well for the Athenians; for he not only

acquitted them of all past offences, but bade them look to their affairs with vigilance, remembering that if he should miscarry, they were likely to be the arbiters of Greece. Certain it is too, that in after-time he often felt compunction for his severity to the Thebans, and his remorse for this made him less rigorous to others. He imputed also the death of Clitus at the banquet, and the refusal of the Macedonians to follow him against the Indians, by which his enterprise and glory was left imperfect, to the wrath and vengeance of Bacchus.* And it was observed that whatsoever any Theban, who had the good fortune to survive this victory, asked of him, he was sure to grant without the least difficulty.

- 14 Soon after, the Greeks, being assembled at the Isthmus, passed a vote for joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians, and proclaimed him their general. While he stayed here, many statesmen and philosophers came to visit and congratulate him, and among them he expected to see Diogenes of Sinope, who then was living at Corinth. Diogenes however thought so little of him, that he never stirred out of the Craneum†, where Alexander (who went to see him) found him lying along in the sun. When he saw so much company near him, he raised himself a little, and vouchsafed to look upon Alexander; and when he saluted him and asked him *whether he could do any thing for him*. "Yes," said he, "will you stand from between me and the sun?" Alexander it is said was so

* The son of Semele, the Theban princess. Compare page 218 in the life of Lysander.

† One of the quarters of the town of Corinth.

struck with this answer, and surprised at the greatness of the man, who had taken so little notice of him, that as he went away, he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, that *if he were not Alexander, he would choose to be Diogenes.* Then he went to Delphi, to consult Apollo concerning the success of the war he had undertaken, and happening to come on one of the forbidden days, when it was esteemed improper to give any answers from the oracle, he sent messengers to desire the priestess to do her office; and when she refused, on the plea of a law to the contrary, he went up himself, and began to draw her by force into the temple, until tired and overcome with his importunity, "My son," said she, "thou art invincible." Alexander taking hold of the words, declared he had received such an answer as he wished for, and that it was needless to consult any further. Among other prodigies that attended the departure of his army, the image of Orpheus at Libethra, made of cypress-wood, was seen to sweat in great abundance, to the discouragement of everybody. But Aristander told him, that far from presaging ill to him, it signified he should perform acts so heroic and glorious, as would make the poets and musicians toil and labour to describe and celebrate them.

His army, by their computation who give the smallest amount, consisted of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; and those who make the most of it speak but of forty-three thousand foot and five thousand horse. Aristobulus says, that to maintain them he had not above seventy talents; if we may believe Duris, he had not more than thirty days' provision. Onesicri-

Passage
of the
Helles-
pont.
First
year in
Asia,
B.C. 334.

tus tells us he was two hundred talents in debt. Yet with such slight and limited means, he nevertheless did not go on board until he had ascertained how his friends were off, and had apportioned a farm to one, a village to a second, and to others the revenue of some plot of houses or some harbour-town. So that at last he had portioned out or engaged almost all the royal property; which giving Perdiccas an occasion to ask him *what he would leave himself*, he replied, *his hopes*. "Your soldiers," replied Perdiccas, "will be your partners in those," and refused to accept of the estate he had assigned him. Some others of his friends did the like, but to those who willingly received, or desired assistance of him, he liberally granted it, as far as his patrimony in Macedonia would reach, the most part of which was spent in these donations. With such expectation and a mind thus disposed, he passed the Hellespont, and at Troy



Plain of Troy

went up and sacrificed to Minerva, and made libations to the heroes, especially to Achilles, whose gravestone he anointed, and with his friends, as the ancient custom is, ran naked about his tomb, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he esteemed him, *in having while he lived so faithful a friend, and when he was dead, so famous a poet to proclaim his actions.* While he was viewing the rest of the antiquities of the place, being told he might see Paris's harp, if he pleased, he said, he thought it not worth looking at, but he should be glad to see *that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glories and great actions of brave men.**

In the mean time Darius's captains having collected 16 large forces, were encamped on the further bank of the river Granicus, and it was necessary to fight, as it were, in the gate of Asia for an entrance into it. The depth of the river, with the unevenness and difficult ascent of the opposite bank, which was to be gained by main force, was apprehended by most, and some pronounced it an improper time to engage, because it was unusual for the kings of Macedonia to march with their forces in the month called Dæsius. But Alexander broke through these scruples, telling them they should call it a second Artemisius. And when Parmenio advised him not to attempt anything that day, because it was late, he told him that *he should disgrace the Hellespont, should he fear the Granicus.* And so without more saying, he immediately took the river with thirteen troops of horse,

Battle
of the
Grani-
cus,
May

* Iliad, ix. 189. When Ajax, Ulysses, and Phœnix came with the offers of reconciliation from Agamemnon, they found Achilles seated with Patroclus in the tent, singing to his harp "the glories of men."

and rode on amidst showers of darts thrown from the steep opposite side, which was covered with armed multitudes of the enemy's horse and foot, disregarding also the violence and rapidity of the stream, and acting altogether with more of frenzy and desperation, as it seemed, than of the prudent conduct of a general. However, he persisted obstinately to gain the passage, and at last with much ado making his way up the banks, which were extremely muddy and slippery, he had instantly to join in a mere confused hand-to-hand combat with the enemy, before he could draw up his men, who were still passing over, into any order. For the enemy pressed upon him with loud and warlike outcries; and charging, horse against horse, attacked first with their lances, and after they had broken these, with their swords. And Alexander, being easily known by his buckler, and a large plume of white feathers on each side of his helmet, was attacked on all sides, yet escaped wounding, though his cuirass was pierced by a javelin in one of the joinings. And Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, falling upon him at once, he avoided one of them, and struck at Rhœsaces, who had a good cuirass on, and his spear breaking in his hand, betook himself to his dagger. While they were thus engaged, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself upon his horse, gave him such a blow with his Persian sword on the helmet, that he cut off the crest of it, with one of his plumes, and the helmet was only just so far strong enough to save him, that the edge of the weapon touched the hair of his head. But as he was about to repeat his stroke, Clitus, called the black Clitus, prevented him, by running him through the body

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with his spear. At the same time Alexander despatched Rhœsaces with his sword. While the horse were thus dangerously engaged, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and the foot on each side advanced to fight. But the enemy, after no great resistance, gave ground and fled, all but the mercenary Greeks, who, making a stand upon a rising ground, desired quarter, which Alexander, guided rather by passion than judgment, refused to grant, and charging them himself first, had his horse (not Bucephalas, but another), killed under him. And this obstinacy of his to cut off these experienced desperate men occasioned more slaughter and wounds among his soldiers than any part of the battle. The Persians, it is said, lost twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. On Alexander's side, Aristobulus says there were not wanting above four and thirty, of whom nine were foot soldiers; and in memory of them he caused so many statues of brass, of Lysippus's making, to be erected. And that the Greeks might participate the honour of his victory, he sent a portion of the spoils home to them, particularly to the Athenians three hundred shields, and upon all the rest he ordered this inscription to be set: "Alexander the son of Philip, and the Grecians, except the Lacedæmonians, won these from the barbarians who inhabit Asia." All the plate and purple garments, and other things of the same kind that he took from the Persians, except a very small quantity, he sent as a present to his mother.

This battle at once made a great change to Alexander's advantage. For Sardis itself, the chief seat of the barbarian's power in the maritime provinces, and many other places, were surrendered to him; only Halicarnas-

sus and Miletus stood out, which he took by force, together with all the territory about them. After which he was divided in his judgment how to proceed. Sometimes he thought it best to find out Darius as soon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a battle; and then again his purposes were to make first an entire reduction of the sea provinces, and not go up to seek the enemy till he had proved his power and made himself strong here. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened that a spring of water near the city of Xanthus, in Lycia, of its own accord swelled over its banks, and threw up a copper plate upon the margin, on which was an inscription engraven in ancient characters, that the time would come *when the Persian empire should be destroyed by the Grecians*. Encouraged by this accident, he hastened his conquest of all the coast as far as Cilicia and Phœnicia, and passed his army along the shore of Pamphylia with such expedition, that many historians have described and extolled it with a height of admiration, as if it were no less than a miracle and special instance of divine favour, that the waves which usually come rolling in violently from the main, and rarely leave so much as a narrow beach close under the steep broken cliffs at any time uncovered, should retire to afford him passage. Menander, in one of his comedies*, alludes to the marvel when he says,

*Was Alexander ever favoured more?
Each man I wish for meets me at my door;
And should I ask for passage through the sea,
The sea, I doubt not, would retire for me.*

* A fragment only known by this quotation. The twelve years of Alexander's campaigns were those of the boyhood and

But Alexander himself in his epistles mentions nothing unusual in this at all, but says he went from Phaselis, and passed through what they call the Ladders.* At Phaselis he stayed some time, and finding the statue of Theodectes, who was a native of this town and was now dead, erected in the market-place, after he had supped, having drunk pretty plentifully, he went with his companions to visit it, and threw on it many of the garlands, honouring not ungracefully in his sport the memory of a philosopher whose conversation he had formerly enjoyed when he was Aristotle's scholar.

Then he subdued the Pisidians who made head against him, and conquered the Phrygians, at whose chief city, Gordium, said to have been the seat of the ancient Midas, he saw the famous chariot fastened with cords made of the rind of the cornel-tree, which whosoever should untie, the inhabitants had a tradition, that for him was reserved the empire of the world. Most authors tell the story that Alexander, finding himself unable to untie the knot, the ends of which were secretly twisted behind and folded up within it, cut it asunder with his sword. But Aristobulus tells us it was easy for him to undo it, by only pulling the pin out of the pole, to which the yoke was tied, and afterwards drawing off the yoke itself from below. From hence he advanced into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, both which countries he reduced

18
Second
year in
Asia,
B. C. 333.

early youth of Menander, who was not quite twenty-one when his first play was acted, two years after Alexander's death.

* Mount Climax, or the Ladder, was the name of the headland, round the foot of which the narrow strip of beach offered a passage. Strabo describes it, and says Alexander found the waters nearly breast-high.

to obedience, and then hearing of the death of Memnon, the best commander Darius had upon the sea-coast, who, if he had lived, might, it was supposed, have put many impediments and a long series of difficulties in the way of the progress of his arms, he was the rather encouraged to carry the war into the upper provinces of Asia. And Darius was by this time upon his march from Susa, very confident, not only in the number of his men, which amounted to six hundred thousand, but likewise in a dream, which the Magian soothsayers interpreted rather in flattery to him than according to the natural probability. He dreamt that he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and Alexander waiting on him, clad in the same dress which he himself had been used to wear when he was courier to the late king*; after which, going into the sanctuary of Belus, he vanished out of his sight. The dream would appear to have supernaturally signified to him the illustrious actions the Macedonians were to perform, and that, as he from a courier's place had risen to the throne, so Alexander should come to be master of Asia, and not long surviving his conquests, conclude his life with glory.

- 19 Darius's confidence increased the more, because Alexander spent so much time in Cilicia, which he imputed to his cowardice. But it was sickness that detained him there, which some say he contracted from

* Darius had been a courier or king's messenger, an *astandes*, in the Greek form of the Persian term. The Persian arrangements for the transmission of intelligence by relays of horses and couriers were very well managed; they seem to have been adopted in the Greek monarchies, and from thence to have passed into the Roman empire, and thus into Western Europe.

his fatigues, others from bathing in the river Cydnus, whose waters are exceedingly cold. Anyway, none of his physicians would venture to give him remedies; they thought his case desperate, and were afraid of the suspicions of the Macedonians if they should fail in the cure; till Philip the Acarnanian, seeing how critical his case was, but relying on his own well-known friendship for him, resolved to try the last efforts of his art, and rather hazard his own life than suffer him to perish for want of physic, which he confidently administered to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he desired a speedy recovery in order to prosecute the war. At this very time Parmenio wrote to Alexander from the camp, bidding him have a care of Philip, as one who was bribed by Darius to kill him, with great sums of money, and a promise of his daughter in marriage. When Alexander had read the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it so much as to any of his most intimate friends, and when Philip at the appointed hour came in with his companions to give him the potion, he took it with perfect readiness and assurance, giving him mean time the letter to read. This was a spectacle well worth being present at, to see Alexander take the draught, and Philip read the letter at the same time, and then turn and look upon one another, but with different sentiments; Alexander's looks being cheerful and open, to show his affection to and confidence in his physician; while the other was full of surprise and anger at the accusation, appealing to the gods to witness his innocence, sometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, and then throwing himself down by the bed-side, and beseeching Alexander to lay aside all

fear, and follow his directions without apprehension. For the medicine at first worked so strongly as to drive, so to say, the vital forces into the interior; he lost his speech, and sinking into something like a swoon, seemed to have scarcely any sense or pulse left. However, in no long time, by Philip's means, his health and strength returned, and he showed himself in public to the Macedonians, who were in continual fear and dejection until they saw him abroad again.

- 20 There was in Darius's army a Macedonian refugee, named Amyntas, one who had some knowledge of Alexander's character. This man, when he saw Darius intended to advance against the enemy within the passes and defiles, advised him earnestly to keep where he was, in the broad and open plains, it being the advantage of a numerous army to have field-room enough when it engages with a lesser force. Darius told him he was afraid the enemy would endeavour to run away, and so Alexander would escape out of his hands. "That fear," replied Amyntas, "is needless; you may assure yourself that he will hasten to meet you, and is most likely already on his march." But Amyntas's counsel was to no purpose, for Darius immediately broke up his camp and marched into Cilicia, at the same time that Alexander advanced into Syria to meet him; and missing one another in the night, they both turned back again. Alexander, greatly pleased with the event, made all the haste he could to fight in the defiles, and Darius to draw his army out of them and recover his former ground. For now he perceived his error in engaging himself in a country in which the sea, the mountains, and the river Pinarus, running through the

Battle
of Issus,
Novem-
ber,
B.C. 333.

midst of it, would necessitate him to divide his forces, render his horse almost unserviceable, and give aid to the weakness of the enemy. Fortune was not kinder to Alexander in the choice of the ground, than he was careful to improve it to his advantage. For being much inferior in numbers, so far from allowing himself to be outflanked, he carried his right wing beyond the left of his enemies, and charging there and fighting himself in the foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In doing which he was wounded in the thigh, Chares says by Darius, with whom he fought hand to hand; but in the account which he sent to Antipater of the battle, though he owns he was wounded in the thigh with a sword, though only slightly, he does not say who it was that wounded him. Nothing was wanting to complete the victory, in which he overthrew above an hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, but the taking the person of Darius, who escaped him by about four or five furlongs. However, having taken his chariot and his bow,



The Persian King at Issus. (From a Mosaic at Pompeii.)

he returned from pursuing him, and found his own men busy in pillaging the barbarian's camp, which (though to disburden themselves, they had left most of their baggage at Damascus) was exceedingly rich. But Darius's tent, which was full of splendid furniture, and attendants, and wealth of every kind, they reserved for

Alexander himself, who at once put off his arms and went to bathe himself, saying, "Let us now cleanse ourselves from the sweat of war in the bath of Darius." "Not so," replied one of his followers, "but in Alexander's rather; for the property of the conquered is, and should be called, the conqueror's." Here, when he beheld the bathing vessels, the water-pots, the pans, and the ointment-boxes, all of gold, curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into a pavilion of great size and height, where the couches and tables and preparations for an entertainment were perfectly magnificent, he turned to those about him and said, "This, it seems, is royalty."

- 21 But as he was going to supper, word was brought him that Darius's mother and wife and two unmarried daughters, being taken among the rest of the prisoners, upon the sight of his chariot and bow were beating their breasts and lamenting, imagining him to be dead. After some pause, more keenly affected with their affliction than with his own success, he sent Leonnatus to them, to let them know Darius was not dead, and that they need not fear any harm from Alexander, who made war upon him only for dominion; they should themselves be provided with everything they had been used to receive from Darius. The kind message could not but be welcome to the captive women; but it was presently made good by actions no less humane and generous. For he gave them leave to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to make use for this purpose of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the booty. He diminished nothing of their equipage, or of the atten-

tions and respect formerly paid them, and allowed larger pensions for their maintenance than they had before. But the noblest and most royal part of their usage was, that he treated these illustrious prisoners according to their virtue and character, not suffering them to hear, or receive, or so much as to apprehend anything that was unbecoming. So that they seemed rather lodged in some temple, or some holy virgin chambers, where they enjoyed their privacy sacred and uninterrupted, than in the camp of an enemy. Nevertheless Darius's wife was accounted the most beautiful princess then living, as her husband the tallest and handsomest man of his time, and the daughters were not unworthy of their parents. But Alexander, esteeming it more kingly to govern himself than to conquer his enemies, sought no intimacy with any one of them, nor indeed with any other woman before marriage, except Barsine, Memnon's widow, who was taken prisoner at Damascus. She had been instructed in the Grecian learning, was of a gentle temper, and, by her father Artabazus, royally descended, which recommendations, added to the encouragement of Parmenio, as Aristobulus tells us, made him the more willing to attach himself to so agreeable and illustrious a woman. Of the rest of the female captives, though remarkably handsome and well proportioned, he took no further notice than to say jestingly, that *Persian women were eyesores*. And he himself, retaliating, as it were, by the display of the beauty of his own temperance and self-control, bade them be removed, as he would have done so many lifeless images.

Hearing that Damon and Timotheus, two of Parmenio's 22

Macedonian soldiers, had abused the wives of some strangers who were in his pay, he wrote to Parmenio, charging him strictly, if he found them guilty, to *put them to death as wild beasts that were only made for the mischief of mankind*; adding in the same letter with regard to himself, that he had not so much as seen or wished to see the wife of Darius, no, nor suffered anybody to speak of her beauty before him. He was wont to say, that *sleep and bodily indulgence chiefly made him sensible that he was mortal*; as much as to say, that weariness and pleasure proceed both from the same frailty and imbecility of human nature. In his diet, also, he was most temperate, as appears, omitting many other circumstances, by what he said to Ada, whom he adopted, with the title of mother, and created queen of Caria. For when she out of kindness sent him every day many curious dishes, and sweetmeats, and would have furnished him with some cooks and pastry-men, who were thought to have great skill, he told her he wanted none of them, his preceptor, Leonidas, having already given him the best, which were *a night march to prepare for breakfast, and a moderate breakfast to create an appetite for supper*. Leonidas also, he added, used to open and search the furniture of his chamber, and his wardrobe, to see if his mother had left him anything that was delicate or superfluous.

- 23 He was much less addicted to wine than was generally believed; that which gave people occasion to think so of him was, that when he had nothing else to do, he loved to sit long and talk, rather than drink, and over every cup hold a long conversation. For when business called upon him, he was not the man to be detained,

like other generals, by wine, or sleep, nuptial solemnities, spectacles, or any other diversion ; a convincing proof of which is the multitude of great actions which he crowded into so short a life. When he was free from employment, after he was up, and had sacrificed to the gods, he at once took his breakfast sitting, and would then spend the rest of the day in hunting, or writing directions, giving decisions in military causes, or reading. In marches that required no great haste, he would practise shooting as he went along, or to mount a chariot, and alight from it as it was going on. Sometimes, for amusement, as his journals tell us, he would hunt foxes and go fowling. When he came in for the evening, after he had bathed and was anointed, he would call for his bakers and chief cooks, to know if they had dinner prepared. He never chose to dine till it was pretty late and beginning to be dark, and was extremely careful at table that every one who sat with him should be served alike and with proper attention ; and his love of talking, as was said before, made him delight to sit long at his wine. And then, though otherwise no king in conversation was ever so easy and agreeable, he would fall into a way of ostentation and soldierly boasting, partly from his own temper thus leading him away, and partly that he let his flatterers so carry him on, while his better friends were in distress and embarrassed how to behave themselves between the shame of competing with these praisers and the danger of not joining in the same encomiums. After such an entertainment, he was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he would sleep till noon, and sometimes all day long. He was so temperate in his eating, that when

any rare fish or fruits were sent him from the coast, he would distribute them among his friends, and often reserve nothing for himself. His table, however, was always magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his good fortune, till it amounted to ten thousand drachmas a day, to which sum he limited it, and beyond this none might lay out in any entertainment where he was the guest.

- 24 After the battle of Issus, he sent to Damascus to seize upon the money and baggage, the wives and children of the Persians; of which benefit the Thessalian horsemen had the greatest share; for these had done particularly good service in the battle, and he sent them hither on purpose to let them receive their reward. Not but that the rest of the army had enough to enrich them all. And the Macedonians, after this first taste of the gold and silver of the east, and of their women and barbaric splendour of living, were ready to pursue and follow upon it with all the eagerness of hounds upon a scent. Alexander, however, before he proceeded any further, thought it necessary to assure himself of the sea-coast.* The kings who governed in Cyprus came at once to put that island into his possession, and Phœnicia also, Tyre only excepted, was surrendered to him.

Siege of Tyre, Third year in Asia, B. C. 332. During the siege of Tyre, which with mounds of earth cast up, and battering engines, and two hundred galleys by sea, was carried on for seven months together, he dreamt that he saw Hercules upon the walls, reaching

* For until the Phœnician cities were reduced, the Persian fleet would continue to be superior at sea, and would interrupt his communications with Greece and Macedonia, and make everything unsafe in his rear.

out his hand, and calling to him. And many of the Tyrians in their sleep fancied that Apollo told them he was displeased with their actions, and was about to leave them and go over to Alexander. Upon which, as if the god had been a deserting soldier, they seized him, so to say, in the act, tied down the statue with ropes, and nailed it to the pedestal, reproaching him, that he was a favourer of Alexander. Another time, Alexander dreamt he saw a Satyr mocking him at a distance, and when he endeavoured to catch him, he still escaped from him, till at last with much perseverance, and running about after him, he got him into his power. The soothsayers making two words of *Satyrus**, assured him, that *Tyre should be his own*. The inhabitants show a spring of water, near which they say Alexander slept, when he fancied the Satyr appeared to him. While the army lay here before Tyre, he made an excursion against the Arabians who inhabit the Mount Antilibanus, in which he hazarded his life extremely to bring off his master Lysimachus, who would needs go along with him, declaring he was *neither older nor of less courage than Phœnix*, Achilles's guardian. For when, quitting their horses, they began to march up the hills on foot, the rest of the soldiers outwent them a great deal, so that, night drawing on, and the enemy being near, Alexander was fain to stay behind so long, to encourage and help up the lagging and tired old man, that before he was aware, he was left behind, a great way from his soldiers, with a slender attendance, and forced to pass an extremely cold night in the dark,

* *Satyrus* or *Saturos*, the complete Greek word for a Satyr; which in two words is *Sa Turos*, *Thine shall be Tyre*.

and in a very inconvenient place. Till seeing a great many scattered fires of the enemy at some distance, and trusting to his agility of body, and as he was always wont by undergoing toils and labours himself to cheer and support the Macedonians in any distress, he ran straight to one of the nearest fires, and with his dagger despatching two of the barbarians that sat by it, snatched up a lighted brand, and returned with it to his own men. They immediately made a great fire, which so alarmed the enemy that some of them fled; and others that came and attacked them were soon routed, and thus they rested securely the remainder of the night. Thus Chares writes.

- 25 But to return to the siege, it had this issue. Alexander, that he might refresh his army, harassed with many former encounters, had led only a small party towards the walls, rather to keep the enemy busy, than with any prospect of much advantage. It happened at this time that Aristander, the soothsayer, after he had sacrificed, upon view of the entrails, affirmed confidently to those who stood by, that the city should be certainly taken that very month, upon which there was a laugh and some mockery among the soldiers, as this was the last day of it. The king, seeing him in perplexity, and always anxious to support the credit of the predictions, gave order that they should not count it as the thirtieth, but as the twenty-third of the month, and ordering the trumpets to sound, attacked the walls more seriously than he at first intended. The sharpness of the assault called out the rest of the forces, who had been left in the camp, and who now came up to second it, and the issue of it was that the Tyrians retired, and

the town was carried that very day. The next place he sat down before was Gaza, one of the largest cities of Syria, where this accident befell him. A large bird flying over him, let a clod of earth fall upon his shoulder, and then settling upon one of the battering engines, was suddenly entangled and caught in the nets composed of sinews, which protected the ropes with which the machine was managed. And the result was exactly according to Aristander's explanation of the sign; Alexander was wounded, and the city was reduced. And now he sent home a great part of the spoils to Olympias, Cleopatra, and the rest of his friends, and in particular to his preceptor Leonidas five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and a hundred of myrrh, in remembrance of what he had told him when he was a child. For Leonidas, it seems, standing by him one day while he was sacrificing, and seeing him take both his hands full of incense to throw it into the fire, bid him be more sparing in his offerings, and wait *till he was master of the countries which the gums and spices came from*. So Alexander now wrote to him, saying, "We have sent you abundance of myrrh and frankincense, that for the future you may not be stingy to the gods."

Among the treasures and other booty that was 26 taken from Darius, there was a very precious casket, which being brought to Alexander for a rarity, he asked those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it; and when they had delivered their various opinions, he told them he should keep Homer's Iliad in it. This is attested by many credible authors. And if what the Alexandrians tell us upon the authority

Founda-
tion
of Alex-
andria.

of Heraclides, be true, Homer was neither an idle, nor an unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was master of Egypt, designing to settle a colony of Grecians there, he resolved to build a large and populous city, and give it his own name. In order to which, after he had already all but measured and staked out a site, with the advice of the architects, he chanced one night in his sleep to see a wonderful vision; a grey-headed old man, of a venerable aspect, appeared to stand by him, and pronounce these verses :—

*An island lies, where loud the billows roar,
Pharos they call it, on the Egyptian shore.**

Alexander upon this immediately rose up and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little beyond the Canobic mouth of the Nile, though it has now been joined to the mainland by a mole. And seeing what a wonderfully advantageous site there was here, being a long ribbon of land, stretching like an isthmus, with some considerable width, between large lagoons and shallow waters on one side, and the sea on the other, the latter at the end of it making a spacious harbour, he said, *Homer, besides his other excellences, was a very good architect*, and ordered the plan of a city to be drawn out answerable to the place. To do which, for want of chalk, the soil being black, they laid out their lines with flour, taking in a pretty large compass of ground in a semicircular figure, and

* From Menelaus's account of his return from Troy, given by him to Telemachus, when inquiring after his father at Sparta.—*Odyssey*, iv. 354. Alexander's Alexandria was not however on

drawing equal straight lines from each end from the circumference, thus giving it something of the form of a cloak or cape. While he was pleasing himself with his design, on a sudden an infinite number of birds of several kinds and sizes, rising like a cloud out of the river and the lake, devoured every morsel of the flour that had been used in setting out the lines; at which omen even Alexander himself was troubled, till the augurs restored his confidence again by telling him, it was a sign that the city he was about to build would not only abound in all things within itself, but also be the nurse and feeder of many nations. He commanded the workmen to proceed; while he went to visit the temple of Ammon. This was a long and painful, and, in two respects, a dangerous journey; first, if they should lose their provision of water, as for several days none could be obtained; and, secondly, if a violent south wind should rise upon them, while they were travelling through the wide extent of deep sands, as it is said to have done when Cambyzes led his army that way, blowing the sand together in heaps, and raising, as it were, the whole desert like a sea upon them, till fifty thousand were swallowed up and destroyed by it. All these difficulties were weighed and represented to him; but Alexander was not easily to be diverted from any thing he was bent upon. For fortune having hitherto seconded him in his designs made him resolute and firm in his opinions, and the boldness of his temper

the island. The *long strip or ribbon of land* is part of the mainland opposite the island, with the lake Mareotis spreading out behind it. The mole or broad causeway joins it with the island, and is the site of the modern town.

raised a sort of passion in him for surmounting difficulties; as if it were not enough to be undefeated in the field, unless places also and seasons submitted to him.

- 27 And certainly in this journey, the facts of the relief and assistance the gods afforded him in his difficulties were more believed than the after oracles, which, indeed, were credited on account of those occurrences. For first, plentiful rains that fell preserved them from any fear of perishing by drought, and, allaying the dryness of the sand, which now became moist and firm to travel on, cleared and purified the air. Besides this, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, because the marks which were wont to direct the guides were disordered and lost, they were set right again by some ravens, which flew before them when on their march, and waited for them when they lingered and fell behind; and the greatest wonder, as Callisthenes tells us, was that if any of the company went astray in the night, by their continual croaking and noise, they brought them into the right way again. Having passed through the wilderness, they came to the place; where the high-priest* of Ammon at the first salutation bade Alexander *welcome from his father*. And being asked by Alexander *whether any of his father's murderers had escaped punishment*, he charged him *to speak with more respect, since his was*

* Literally the *prophet* of Ammon, but the word in the English use of it implies a power of prediction possessed by the individual himself: whereas the Greek *prophètes*, which would not be used in our sense, means merely an utterer of words placed, as it were, in his mouth by the direct act of a divinity,—a medium.

not a mortal father. Then Alexander, changing his expression, desired to know of him *if any of those who murdered Philip were yet unpunished*, and further, concerning dominion, *whether he should become the ruler of all men?* This, the god answered, he should obtain, and that Philip's death was fully revenged; upon which he made splendid offerings to the god, and gave the priests rich presents. This is what most authors state about the oracles. But Alexander, in a letter to his mother, tells her *there were some secret answers, which at his return he would communicate to her only.* Others say that the priest, desirous as a piece of courtesy to address him in Greek, "*O Paidion*," by a slip in pronunciation ended with the *s* instead of the *n*, and said, "*O Paidios**," which mistake Alexander was well enough pleased with, and it went for current that the oracle had called him so. Among the sayings of one Psammon, a philosopher, whom he heard in Egypt, he most approved of this, *that all men are governed by God, because in everything that which is chief and commands, is divine.* But what he pronounced himself upon this subject, was even more like a philosopher, for he said, *God was the common father of us all, but in a special sense of the best of us.*

To the barbarians he carried himself very loftily, as if 28 he were fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage; but to the Greeks he used a more moderate and less open affectation of divinity, except perhaps once in writing to the Athenians about Samos, when he tells them that he should not himself have bestowed upon them that free and glorious city; "You received it," he

* *Paidion*, O my son; *O Pai Dios*, O Son of Jupiter.

says, "from the bounty of him who at that time was called my lord and father," meaning Philip. Once, afterwards, being wounded with an arrow, and feeling much pain, he turned to those about him, and told them, "This, my friends, is real flowing blood, not *ichor*,

Such as immortal gods are wont to shed."

And another time, when it thundered so much that everybody was afraid, and Anaxarchus, the sophist, asked him *if he, who was Jupiter's son, could do anything like this*: "Nay," said Alexander, laughing, "I have no desire to be formidable to my friends, as you would have me, who despised my table for being furnished with fish, and not with the heads of governors of provinces." For in fact it is related as true, that Anaxarchus seeing a present of small fishes, which the king sent to Hephæstion, had used this expression, in a sort of irony and disparagement of those who undergo vast labours and encounter great hazards in pursuit of magnificent objects, and after all obtain little more pleasure or enjoyment than what others have. From what I have said, it is apparent that Alexander in himself was not foolishly exalted or had any feeling of this kind, but merely used his profession to divinity as a means of maintaining among other people the sense of his superiority.

29 On his return out of Egypt into Phœnicia, he sacrificed and made solemn processions, to which were added shows of lyric dances and tragedies, remarkable not merely for the splendour of the equipage and decorations, but for the competition among those who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were here the ex-

Fourth
year in
Asia,
B.C. 331.

hibitors*, just in the same manner as at Athens those who are chosen by lot out of the tribes. And, indeed, they showed the greatest emulation to outvie each other; especially Nicocreon, king of Salamis, and Pasistrates, of Soli, who furnished the chorus, and defrayed the expenses of the two most celebrated actors, Athenodorus and Thessalus, the former performing for Pasistrates, and the latter for Nicocreon. Thessalus was most favoured by Alexander, though he did not let it appear till Athenodorus was declared victor by the votes. But then at his going away, he said the judges had done their duty, but that he *would willingly have lost part of his kingdom, rather than see Thessalus overcome*. However, when he understood Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for being absent at the festival of Bacchus, though he refused his request that he would write a letter in his behalf, he gave him a sufficient sum to pay the penalty. Another time, when Lycon of Scarpbia performed with great applause in the theatre, and in a verse which he introduced into the comic part which he was acting, begged for a present of ten talents, he laughed and gave him the money. Darius now wrote him a letter, and sent friends to intercede with him, requesting him to accept as a ransom of his captives the sum of a thousand talents, and offering him in exchange for his amity and alliance, all the countries on this side the river

* In Greek, *choragi* or chorus-masters; the chorus or musical part being always regarded as the basis of the play. To act as *choragus*, or exhibitor, that is, to pay the expenses of a dramatic exhibition at the festivals, was one of the public duties expected of wealthier citizens. One was appointed at Athens from each of the ten tribes. It was regarded as an opportunity for displaying munificence, and there was accordingly much competition.

Euphrates, together with one of his daughters in marriage. These propositions he communicated to his friends, and when Parmenio told him, that for his part, *if he were Alexander, he should readily embrace them*, "So would I," said Alexander, "if I were Parmenio." His answer to Darius was, that *if Darius would come and yield himself up, he would treat him with every kindness ; if not, he was coming himself to seek him.*

- 30 The death of Darius's wife in childbirth made him soon after regret one part of this answer, and he showed evident marks of grief, at being thus deprived of a further opportunity of displaying his clemency and good nature, which he manifested, however, as far as he could, by giving her a most sumptuous funeral. Among the eunuchs who waited in the queen's chamber, and were taken prisoners with the women, there was one Tireus, who getting out of the camp, fled away on horseback to Darius, to inform him of his wife's death. He, when he heard it, beating his head, and bursting into tears and lamentations, said, "Alas, how great is the calamity of the Persians ! Was it not enough that their king's consort and sister was a prisoner in her lifetime, but she must, now she is dead also, be but meanly and obscurely buried ?" "O king," replied the eunuch, "as to her funeral rites, or any respect or honour that should have been shown in them, you have not any reason to accuse the ill-fortune of your country ; for to my knowledge neither your queen Statira when alive, nor your mother, nor children, wanted anything of their former happy condition, unless it were the light of your countenance, which I doubt not but the lord Oromasdes will yet restore to its former glory. And after her

decease, I assure you, she had not only all due funeral ornaments, but was honoured also with the tears of your very enemies ; for Alexander is as gentle after victory, as he is terrible in the field." At the hearing of these words, such was the grief and emotion of Darius's mind, that it carried him into extravagant suspicions ; and taking Tireus aside into a more private part of his tent, " Unless thou likewise," said he to him, " hast deserted me, together with the good fortune of Persia, and art become a Macedonian in thy heart ; if thou yet ownest me for thy master Darius, tell me, I charge thee, by the veneration thou payest the light of Mithras, and this right hand of thy king, do I not lament the least of Statira's misfortunes in her captivity and death ? Have I not suffered something more injurious and deplorable in her lifetime ? And had I not been miserable with less dishonour, if I had met with a more severe and inhuman enemy ? For how is it possible a young man as he is, should treat the wife of his opponent with so much distinction, were it not from some motive that does me disgrace ?" Whilst he was yet speaking, Tireus threw himself at his feet, and besought him neither to wrong Alexander so much, nor his dead wife and sister, as to give utterance to any such thoughts, which deprived him of the greatest consolation left him in his adversity, the belief that he was overcome by a man whose virtues raised him above human nature ; that he ought to look upon Alexander with love and admiration, who had given no less proofs of his continence towards the Persian women, than of his valour among the men. The eunuch confirmed all he said with solemn and

dreadful oaths, and was further enlarging upon Alexander's moderation and magnanimity on other occasions, when Darius, breaking away from him into the other division of the tent, where his friends and courtiers were, lifted up his hands to heaven, and uttered this prayer, "Ye gods," said he, "of my family, and of my kingdom, if it be possible, I beseech you to restore the declining affairs of Persia, that I may leave them in as flourishing a condition as I found them, and have it in my power to make a grateful return to Alexander for the kindness, which in my adversity he has shown to those who are dearest to me. But if, indeed, the fatal time be come, which is to give a period to the Persian monarchy, if our ruin be a debt that must be paid to the divine jealousy and the vicissitude of things, then I beseech you grant that no other man but Alexander may sit upon the throne of Cyrus." Such is the narrative given by the greater number of the historians.

- 31 But to return to Alexander. After he had reduced all Asia on this side the Euphrates, he advanced towards Darius, who was coming down against him with a million of men. In his march, a very ridiculous incident happened. The servants who followed the camp, for sport's sake divided themselves into two parties, and named the commander of one of them Alexander, and of the other Darius. At first they only pelted one another with clods of earth, but presently took to their fists, and at last, heated with the contention, they fought in good earnest with stones and clubs, so that there was much ado to part them; till Alexander, upon hearing of it, ordered the two captains

to decide the quarrel by single combat, and himself armed him who bore his name, while Philotas did the same to Darius. The whole army were spectators of this encounter, willing from the event of it to derive an omen of their own future success. After they had fought stoutly a pretty long while, at last he who was called Alexander had the better, and for a reward of his prowess, had twelve villages given him, with leave to wear the Persian dress. So we are told by Eratosthenes. But the great battle with Darius was fought, not, as most writers tell us, at Arbela, but at Gaugamela, which, in their language, signifies the Camel's House, forasmuch as one of their ancient kings having escaped the pursuit of his enemies on a swift camel, in gratitude to his beast, settled him at this place, with an allowance of certain villages and rents for his maintenance. It so happened that the moon of the month Boëdromion, about the beginning of the feast of Mysteries at Athens, was eclipsed: on the eleventh night after which, the two armies being now in view of one another, Darius kept his men in arms, and by torchlight took a general review of them; and Alexander, while his soldiers slept, spent the night before his tent with his diviner Aristander, performing certain mysterious ceremonies, and sacrificing to the god Fear. In the meanwhile the oldest of his commanders, and chiefly Parmenio, when they beheld all the plain between Niphates and the Gordyæan mountains shining with the lights and fires which were made by the barbarians, and heard the uncertain and confused sound of voices out of their camp, like the distant roaring of a vast ocean, were so

Battle
of Gau-
gamela,
or Ar-
bela,
B.C. 331.
1st Oc-
tober.

amazed at the thoughts of such a multitude, that after some conference among themselves, they concluded it an enterprise too difficult and hazardous for them to engage so numerous an enemy in the day, and therefore meeting the king as he came from sacrificing, recommended him to attack Darius by night, that the darkness might conceal the danger of the ensuing battle. To this he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal a victory," which though some at the time thought a boyish and inconsiderate speech, as if he played with danger, others however regarded as an evidence that he confided in his present condition, and acted on a true judgment of the future, not wishing to leave Darius, in case he were worsted, the pretext of trying his fortune again, which he might suppose himself to have, if he could impute his overthrow to the disadvantage of the night, as he did before to the mountains, the narrow passages, and the sea. For while he had such numerous forces and large dominions still remaining, it was not any want of men or arms that could induce him to give up the war, but only the loss of all courage and hope upon the conviction of an undeniable and manifest defeat.

- 32 After they were gone from him with this answer, he laid himself down in his tent and slept the rest of the night more soundly than was usual with him, to the astonishment of the commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were fain themselves to give order that the soldiers should breakfast. But at last, time not giving them leave to wait any longer, Parmenio went to his bedside, and called him twice or

thrice by his name, till he waked him, and then asked him *how it was possible, when he was to fight the most important battle of all, he could sleep as soundly as if he were already victorious.* "And are we not so, indeed," replied Alexander, smiling, "since we are at last relieved from the trouble of wandering in pursuit of Darius through a wide and wasted country, hoping in vain that he would fight us?" And not only before the battle, but in the height of the danger, he showed himself great, and manifested the self-possession of a just foresight and confidence. For the battle for some time fluctuated and was dubious. The left wing, where Parmenio commanded, was so impetuously charged by the Bactrian horse that it was disordered and forced to give ground, at the same time that Mazæus had sent a detachment round about to fall upon those who guarded the baggage, which so disturbed Parmenio, that he sent messengers to tell Alexander that the camp and baggage would be all lost unless he immediately relieved the rear by a considerable reinforcement from the front. This message being brought to him just as he was giving the signal to those about him for the onset, he bade them tell Parmenio that he *must have surely, lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten in his alarm, that soldiers, if victorious, become masters of their enemies' baggage; and if defeated, instead of taking care of their wealth or their slaves, have nothing more to do but to fight and die with honour.* When he had said this, he put on his helmet, having the rest of his arms on before he came out of his tent, which were a coat of the Sicilian make, girt close about him, and over that a

breastpiece of thickly quilted linen, which was taken among other booty at the battle of Issus. The helmet, which was made by Theophilus, though of iron, was so well wrought and polished, that it was as bright as the most refined silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, which was the weapon he most used in fight, was given him by the king of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. The scarf which also he wore in all engagements, was of much richer workmanship than the rest of his armour. It was a work of the ancient Helicon, and had been presented to him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect to him. So long as he was engaged in drawing up his men, or riding about to give orders or directions, or to view them, he spared Bucephalas, who was now growing old, and made use of another horse; but when he was actually to fight, he sent for him again, and as soon as he was mounted, commenced the attack.

- 33 He made the longest address that day to the Thessalians and other Greeks, who answered him with loud shouts, desiring him to lead them on against the barbarians, upon which he shifted his javelin into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, besought the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, that if he was of a truth the son of Jupiter, they would be pleased to assist and strengthen the Grecians. At the same time the augur Aristander, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and showed them an eagle soaring just over Alexander's head, and flying straight towards the enemy; which much animated the beholders; and after mutual en-

couragements and exhortations, the horse charged at full speed, and were followed in a mass by the whole phalanx of the foot. But before they could well come to blows with the first ranks, the barbarians gave way, and were hotly pursued by Alexander, who drove those that fled before him into the middle of the battle, where Darius himself was in person, whom he saw from a distance over the foremost ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his life-guard, a tall and fine-looking man, drawn in a lofty chariot, defended by an abundance of the best horse, who stood close in order about it, ready to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach was so terrible, forcing those who gave back upon those who yet maintained their ground, that he beat down and dispersed the greater part of them. Only the bravest and valiantest remained, and, being slain in front of their king, thus impeded the pursuit from reaching him, falling in heaps upon one another, and lying mingled and struggling in the pangs of death among the horses. Darius, seeing the danger close at hand, that those who were placed to defend him were broken and beat back upon him, that he could not turn or disengage his chariot without great difficulty, the wheels being clogged and entangled among the dead bodies, which lay in such heaps as not only stopped, but almost covered the horses, and made them rear and grow so unruly, that the frightened charioteer could govern them no longer, in this extremity was glad to quit his chariot and his arms, and mounting, it is said, upon a mare that had been taken from her foal, betook himself to flight. But he had not escaped so either, if Parmenio had not sent fresh messengers to Alexander,

to desire him to return and assist him against a considerable body of the enemy which yet stood together, and would not give ground. For indeed Parmenio is in general accused of having been sluggish and unserviceable in this battle, whether age had impaired his courage, or that, as Callisthenes says, he secretly disliked and envied Alexander's growing greatness and majesty. Alexander, though he was not a little vexed to be so recalled and hindered from pursuing his victory, yet concealed the true reason from his men, and causing a retreat to be sounded, as if it were too late in the day to continue the slaughter any longer, marched back towards the place of danger, and by the way met with the news of the enemy's total overthrow and flight.

- 34 This battle, thus ended, seemed to put a period to the Persian empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed king of Asia, returned thanks to the gods in magnificent sacrifices, and rewarded his friends and followers with great sums of money, and places, and governments of provinces. And eager to gain honour with the Grecians, he wrote to them that he would have all tyrannies abolished, that they might live free according to their own laws, and specially to the Plataeans, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had permitted their countrymen of old to make their territory the seat of the war, when they fought with the barbarians for their common liberty. He sent also part of the spoils into Italy, to the Crotoniats, to honour the zeal and courage of their citizen Phayllus, the wrestler, who, in the Median war, when the other Grecian colonies in Italy disowned Greece,

that he might have a share in the danger, joined the fleet at Salamis with a vessel equipped at his own charge. So affectionate was Alexander to all kind of valour, and so desirous to preserve the memory of laudable actions.

From hence he marched through the province of 85 Babylon, the whole of which immediately submitted to him, and in Ecbatana* was much surprised at the sight of the place where fire issues in a continuous stream, like a spring of water, out of a cleft in the earth, and at the stream of naphtha, which, not far from this spot, flows out so abundantly as to form a sort of lake. This naphtha, in other respects resembling bitumen, is so subject to take fire, that before it touches the flame, it will kindle at the very light that surrounds it, and often inflame the intermediate air also. The barbarians, to show the power and nature of it, sprinkled the street that led to the king's lodgings with little drops of it, and when it was growing dusk, stood at the further end with torches, which being applied to the moistened places, the first at once taking fire, instantly, as quick as a man could think of it, it caught from one end to another, and the whole street was one continued flame. Among those who used to wait on the king and find occasion to amuse him when he anointed and washed himself, there was one Athenophanes, an Athenian,

* "In Ecbatana," should probably be omitted. Nothing is known of any Ecbatana in the province of Babylon, and Ecbatana, the capital of Media, was not reached by Alexander till long after this. Darius had retreated to it. A spot corresponding to the description is mentioned in the neighbourhood of Arbela.

who desired him to make an experiment of the naphtha upon Stephanus, who stood by in the bathing place, a youth with a ridiculously plain face, though with a talent for singing. "For," said he, "if it take hold of him and is not put out, it must undeniably be allowed to be of the most invincible strength." The youth, as it happened, readily consented to undergo the trial, and as soon as he was anointed and rubbed with it, his whole body broke out into such a flame, and was so seized by the fire, that Alexander was in the greatest perplexity and alarm for him, and nothing could have prevented his being consumed by it, if by good chance there had not been people at hand with a great many vessels of water for the service of the bath, with all which they had much ado to extinguish the fire; and his body was so burned all over, that he suffered for some time after. And thus it is not without some plausibility that they endeavour to reconcile the fable to truth, who say this was the drug in the tragedies with which Medea anointed the crown and robe.* For neither the things themselves could kindle nor fire break out of its own accord, but some flame chancing to be brought near them, imperceptibly they attracted and caught it. For the rays and emanations of fire at a distance have no other effect upon some bodies than bare light and heat, but in others, where they meet with airy dryness, or an abundant rich moisture, they collect themselves and soon kindle and create a transformation. The manner, however, of the production of naphtha admits of a diversity of

* Which she gave, in the story, to Creon's daughter, and which, as soon as it was put on, ignited, and consumed her.

opinion* or whether this liquid substance that feeds the flame does not rather proceed from a soil that is unctuous and productive of fire, as that of the province of Babylon is, where the ground is so very hot, that oftentimes the grains of barley leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent inflammation had made the earth throb; and in the extreme heats the inhabitants are wont to sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, who was left governor of this country, and was desirous to adorn the palace gardens and walks with Grecian plants, succeeded in raising all but ivy, which the earth would not bear, but constantly killed. For the plant loves a cold soil, and the temper of this hot and fiery earth would not suit it. But such digressions as these the impatient reader will only pardon, if they are kept within a moderate compass.

At the taking of Susa, Alexander found in the palace 36 forty thousand talents in money ready coined, besides an unspeakable quantity of other furniture and treasure. As, for example he tells us there was five thousand talents' worth of Hermionian purple, that had been laid up there a hundred and ninety years, and yet kept its colour as fresh and lively as at first. The reason of which, they say, is that in dyeing the purple they made use of honey, and of white oil in the white tincture, both which after the like space of time preserve the clearness and brightness of their lustre. Dinon also relates that the Persian kings had water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, which they laid up in their treasuries as a sort of testimony of the greatness of their power and of their universal empire.

* Some words have here been lost out of the text.

37 The entrance into Persia* was through a most difficult country, and was now guarded by the noblest of the Persians, Darius himself having escaped further. Alexander, however, found a guide, a man speaking the two languages, born of a Lycian father and a Persian mother, who led him into the country, by a circuit, just as had been told him beforehand, when he was yet a boy, by the Pythian priestess, whose words were that a *Lycus*† should lead him into Persia. Here a great many of the prisoners were put to the sword, as he himself gives the account, saying he considered it would be for his advantage. Nor was the money found here‡ less, he says, than at Susa, besides other movables and treasure, as much as ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels could well carry away. He happened to observe a large statue of Xerxes thrown carelessly down to the ground in the confusion of soldiers pressing into the palace. And standing still, and accosting it as if it had been alive, "Shall we," said he, "pass you by here prostrate on the ground, because you once invaded Greece, or shall we erect you again in consideration of your other greatness of mind and virtues?" At last, after he had paused some time, and silently considered, he went on without further notice of it. In this place, it being now winter, he stayed four months to refresh his soldiers. It is related that the first time he sat on the royal throne, under the canopy of gold, Demaratus the Corinthian, who was much attached to him,

B.C. 331-330.

* That is, into the district of Persia proper, otherwise called Persis; Farsistan.

† *Lycus* being indifferently a *wolf* or a man of *Lycia*.

‡ In Persis, and particularly at Persepolis.

and had been one of his father's friends, wept, in an old man's manner, and deplored the misfortune of those Greeks whom death had deprived of the satisfaction of seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius.

From hence, designing to march against Darius, 38 before he set out, he diverted himself with his officers at an entertainment of drinking and other pastimes, and indulged so far as to let the women also to whom his companions were attached, sit by and drink with them. The most celebrated of these was Thais, an Athenian, whom Ptolemy, afterwards king of Egypt, had with him. She, partly as a sort of well-turned compliment to Alexander, partly out of sport, as the drinking went on, at last was carried so far as to utter a saying, not misbecoming her native country's character, though somewhat too lofty for her own condition. She said it was indeed some recompense for the toils she had undergone in following the camp all over Asia, that she was that day treated in, and could insult over, the stately palace of the Persian monarchs. *But, she added, it would please her much better, if while the king looked on, she might in sport, with her own hands, set fire to the house of that Xerxes who burnt down the city of Athens, that so it might be recorded to posterity, that the women who followed Alexander had taken a severer revenge on the Persians for the wrongs of Greece, than all their famed commanders had done by sea or land.* As soon as she had said this, such a general clapping and cheering followed, and such appeals were made to him, and so much desire displayed, that the king was drawn into it, and leapt up from his seat, and with

a chaplet on his head, and a lighted torch in his hand, led the way, while they went after him dancing and making loud cries; and when others of the Macedonians heard of it, they also in great delight ran up with torches; for they hoped that this burning and destruction of the royal palace was an argument that he looked homeward, and had no design to reside among the barbarians. Thus some writers give the account, while others say it was done deliberately; however, all agree that he soon repented of it, and gave orders to put out the fire.

- 39 Alexander was naturally most munificent, and grew more so as his fortune increased, and he accompanied his gifts with those marks of kindness and good will which are required to make a benefit really obliging. I will give a few instances. Ariston, the commander of the Pæonians, having killed an enemy, brought his head to show him, and told him that *in his country they recompensed such a present with a cup of gold*. "With an empty one," said Alexander, laughing, "but I give it you full of wine." Another time, as one of the common soldiers was driving a mule laden with some of the king's treasure, the beast grew tired, and the soldier took it upon his own back, and began to march with it, till Alexander seeing the man so overcharged, asked what was the matter; and when he was informed, just as he was ready to lay down his burden for weariness, "Do not faint now," said he to him, "but finish the journey, and carry what you have there to your own tent for yourself." He was always more displeased with those who would not accept what he gave, than with those who begged of him. Thus he wrote to

Phocion, that *he would not own him for his friend any longer if he refused his presents*. Thus too he had never given anything to Serapion, one of the youths that played at ball with him, because he did not ask of him, till one day Serapion, when he came to play, still threw the ball to others, and when the king asked him why he did not send it to him, "Because you do not ask for it," said Serapion; upon which he laughed and gave him a large present. One Proteas, a pleasant companion for jesting and drinking, thinking he had incurred his displeasure, got his friends to intercede for him, and begged his pardon himself with tears; Alexander declared he was friends with him. "Then," said Proteas, "give me something as a pledge of it:" and the king ordered five talents to be given him. How magnificent he was in enriching his friends, and those who attended on his person, appears by a letter which Olympias wrote to him, where she tells him he should reward and honour those about him in a more moderate way, "For now," said she, "you make them all equal to kings, you give them power and opportunity of making many friends of their own, and in the mean time you leave yourself destitute." She often wrote to him to this purpose, and he never communicated her letters to anybody, unless it were one which he opened when Hephæstion was by, whom he permitted, as his custom was, to read it along with him; but as soon as he had done, he took off his ring, and set the seal upon Hephæstion's lips. Mazæus, who had been the greatest man in Darius's court, had a son who was already governor of a province. Alexander added another and larger one; he, however, modestly refused, and told him,

instead of one Darius, he went the way to make many Alexanders. To Parmenio he gave Bagoas's house, in which they say he found a wardrobe of apparel worth more than a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater commanding him to keep a life-guard about him for the security of his person against conspiracies. To his mother he sent many presents, but would never suffer her to meddle with matters of state or war, not indulging her busy temper, and when she reproached him upon this account, he bore her ill-humour very patiently. Once after reading a long letter from Antipater, full of accusations against her, *Antipater*, he said, *did not know that one tear of a mother would efface a thousand such letters as these.*

- 40 But when he perceived his favourites grow so luxurious and extravagant in their way of living and expenses, that Hagnon the Teian wore silver nails in his shoes, that Leonnatus employed several camels, only to bring him powder out of Egypt to use when he wrestled, and that Philotas had hunting nets a hundred furlongs in length, that more used precious ointment than plain oil when they went to bathe, and that they carried about servants everywhere to rub them and wait upon them in their chambers, he reproved them in gentle and reasonable terms, telling them he wondered that they who had been engaged in so many signal battles did not know by experience, that those who labour sleep more sweetly and soundly than those who are laboured for, and could fail to see by comparing the Persians' manner of living with their own, that it was the most abject and slavish condition to be voluptuous, but the most noble and royal to labour.

How was it possible, he asked, for any one, either to look well after his horse, or to keep his armour bright and in good order, who had ceased to let his hands be serviceable to what was nearest to him, his own body? "Are you still to learn," he said, "that the end and perfection of our victories is to avoid the habits of those whom we subdued?" And to strengthen his precepts, he was more active than ever in his own person, both in war and in hunting, embracing opportunities of hardship and danger. A Lacedæmonian, who was there on an embassy to him, and was present when he struck down a huge lion, told him he had fought gallantly with the beast, *which of the two should be king*. Craterus had a representation made of this adventure, consisting of the lion and the dogs, of the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming in to his assistance, all in figures of brass, some by Lysippus, and the rest by Leochares; and had it dedicated in the temple at Delphi.

But while he was thus exposing himself to danger, with the object of inuring himself, and inciting others to the performance of brave and virtuous actions, his followers, who were grown rich and proud, and wanted to live in pleasure and idleness, did not conceal their dislike to the marches and expeditions, and at last went on so far as to revile and slander him. All which at first he bore with the greatest patience, saying, *it became a king well to do good to others, and be evil spoken of*. Meantime the most trifling incidents were occasions for his displaying his affection and honour for his friends. Hearing Peucestes was bitten by a bear, he wrote to

him, that he took it unkindly he should send others notice of it, and not make him acquainted with it; "But now," said he, "since it is so, let me know how you do, and whether any of your companions forsook you when you were in danger, that I may punish them." He sent Hephæstion, who was absent about some business, word how while they were fighting for their diversion with an ichneumon, Craterus was by chance run through both thighs with Perdiccas's javelin. And upon Peucestes's recovery from a sickness, he sent a letter of thanks to his physician Alexippus. When Craterus was ill, he saw a vision in his sleep, after which he offered sacrifices for his health, and bade him to do so likewise. He wrote also to Pausanias the physician, who was about to purge Craterus with hellebore, partly out of anxiety, and partly to advise him how he used that medicine. He put Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of Harpalus's flight, under arrest, as if they had falsely accused him. When he sent the old and infirm soldiers home, Eurylochus, a citizen of Ægæ, got his name enrolled among the sick, and when it was found out that there was nothing the matter with him, he confessed he was in love with a young woman named Telesippa, and wanted to go along with her to the seaside. Alexander inquired to whom the woman belonged, and being told she was a free woman of those who followed the army, "I will assist you," said he to Eurylochus, "if your mistress is to be gained either by presents or persuasions; but we must use no other means, because she is free-born."

42 It is surprising also upon what slight occasions he

would write letters to serve his friends. As when he wrote to give order to search for a youth who attended on Seleucus, who had run away into Cilicia; and in another thanked and commended Peucestes for apprehending Nikon, a slave of Craterus; and in one to Megabyzus, about his servant who had taken sanctuary, gave direction not to meddle with him while he was there, but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to seize him. It is related of him that when he first sat in judgment upon capital causes, he would lay his hand upon one of his ears while the accuser spoke, to keep it free and unprejudiced in behalf of the party accused. But afterwards such a multitude of accusations were brought before him, and so many proved true, that he lost his tenderness of heart, and gave credit to those also that were false; and especially when anybody spoke ill of him, he would be transported out of his reason, and show himself cruel and inexorable, valuing his glory and reputation beyond his life or kingdom. He now, as we said*, set forth to seek Darius, Fifth year in Asia. expecting another battle, but heard he was taken and secured by Bessus, upon which news he sent home the Pursuit of Darius, B.C. 330 July. Thessalians, and gave them a largess of two thousand talents over and above the pay that was due to them. This long and painful pursuit of Darius (for in eleven days he marched thirty-three hundred furlongs) harassed his soldiers so, that most of them were ready to give it up, chiefly for want of water. While they were in this distress, it happened that some Macedonians who had fetched water in skins upon their mules from a river,

* Above, at the beginning of Chap. 38; after spending the four months of winter in Persia.

came about noon to the place where Alexander was, and seeing him almost choked with thirst, presently filled an helmet and offered it him. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water; they told him, to their children, *but if his life were saved, it was no matter, they would find other children*, though these all perished. Then he took the helmet into his hands, and looking round about, when he saw all the horsemen who were about him stretching their heads out and looking after the drink, he returned it with thanks without tasting it, "For," said he, "if I alone should drink, the rest will be out of heart." And the horsemen seeing his temperance and magnanimity, one and all cried out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began whipping on their horses. For *whilst they had such a king, they said, they defied both weariness and thirst, and looked upon themselves to be little less than immortal.*

- 43 But though they were all equally cheerful and willing, yet not above sixty of them were able, it is said, to keep up, and to fall in with Alexander upon the enemy's camp; where they rode over abundance of gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a great many chariots carrying women and children and wandering hither and thither for want of drivers, they pressed forward to overtake the foremost of those that fled, in hopes to meet with Darius among them. And at last, after much trouble, they found him lying in a chariot, wounded all over with darts, just at the point of death. However, he desired they would give him some drink, and when he had drunk a little cold water, he told Polystratus, who gave it him, that *this was the last extremity of his ill fortune, to receive benefits and not be able to return them.* "But Alexander," said he,

"whose kindness to my mother, my wife, and my children I hope the gods will recompense, will doubtless thank you for your humanity to me. In token of my acknowledgment, I give him, through you, this right hand." With which words he took hold of Polystratus's hand and died. When Alexander came up to them, he showed manifest tokens of sorrow, and taking off his own cloak, threw it upon the body to cover it. And sometime afterwards*, when Bessus was taken, he ordered him to be torn in pieces in this manner. They fastened him to a couple of trees which were bound down so as to meet, and then being let loose, with a great force returned to their places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it that was tied to it. Darius's body was laid in state, and sent to his mother with pomp suitable to his quality. His brother Exathres Alexander received into the number of his immediate companions.

And now with the flower of his army he marched into Hyrcania, where he saw a large bay of an open sea, apparently not much less than the Euxine, with water, however, sweeter than that of other seas, but could learn nothing of certainty concerning it, only he thought it must most likely be an arm issuing from the Mæotid lake. However, the naturalists were better informed of the truth, and had given an account of it many years before Alexander's expedition; that of four gulfs which out of the main sea enter into the continent, this, known indifferently as the Caspian and as the Hyrcanian sea, is the most northern. Here the barbarians, unexpectedly meeting with those who led Bucephalas, took the horse.

44
March
into
Hyr-
cania,
and ad-
vance
east-
ward
into
Par-
thia,
B.C. 330
Sep-
tember.

* Bessus was taken in the following year, B.C. 329, after Alexander's passing the Oxus.

and carried it away with them, at which Alexander was so much vexed, that he sent an herald to tell them he would put them all to the sword, men, women, and children, without mercy, if they did not restore him. But on their doing so, and at the same time surrendering their cities into his hands, he treated them kindly, and paid a ransom for his horse to those who had taken him.

- 45 From hence he marched into Parthia, where not having much to do, he first put on the barbaric dress, perhaps with the view of making the work of civilising them the easier, as nothing gains more upon men than a conformity to their fashions and customs. Or it may have been as a first trial, whether the Macedonians might be brought to *adore* him*, by accustoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his manner and course of life in other things. However, he followed not the Median fashion, which was altogether foreign and uncouth, and adopted neither the trousers nor the sleeved vest, nor the tiara for the head, but taking a middle way between the Persian mode and the Macedonian†, so contrived his habit that it was not so flaunting as the one, and yet more pompous and magnificent than the other. At first he wore this habit only when he gave audience to the barbarians, or within doors, among his friends and companions, but afterwards he appeared in it abroad, when he rode out, and on public occasions, a sight which the Macedonians beheld with grief; but they so respected his other virtues, that

* To prostrate themselves before him, as the Persians did before their kings; compare Themistocles p. 39, and Pelopidas p. 263.

† Another reading is *Median*; the Median dress being the more sumptuous, and the Persian the plainer.

they felt bound to gratify in some things his fancies and his passion of glory. In pursuit of which he had, but lately, been wounded in the leg by an arrow, which had so shattered the shank-bone that splinters were taken out, and had received a violent blow with a stone upon the nape of the neck, which dimmed his sight for a good while after. And yet all this could not hinder him from exposing himself freely to any dangers, insomuch that he passed the river *Orexartes**, which he took to be the *Tanais*, and putting the *Scythians* to flight, followed them above a hundred furlongs, though suffering all the time from a diarrhoea.

Here many affirm that the *Amazon* came to give him 46 a visit. So *Clitarchus*, *Polyclitus*, *Onesicritus*, *Antigenes*, and *Ister* tell us. But *Aristobulus* and *Chares*, who held the office of reporter of requests, *Ptolemy*, and *Anticlides*, *Philon the Theban*, *Philip of Theangela*, *Hecateus the Eretrian*, *Philip the Chalcidian*, and *Duris the Samian* say it is a fiction. And truly *Alexander* himself seems to confirm the latter statement, for in a letter in which he gives *Antipater* an exact account of all that happened, he tells him that the king of *Scythia* offered him his daughter in marriage, but makes no mention of an *Amazon*. And many years

* The *Jaxartes*, as it is more commonly called (the modern *Sir-daria*), which was his furthest advance to the north, and which he passed in B.C. 329. Of the events between the death of *Darius* and the invasion of *India*, (the pursuit of *Bessus*, conquest of *Bactria*, and passage of the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*,) *Plutarch* gives no regular account. He goes into other subjects (*Alexander's Eastern habits*, and the mischiefs caused by the dislike to them felt by his companions), and only takes up the order of time with the advance into *India*.

after, when Onesicritus read this story in his fourth book to Lysimachus, who was then king, Lysimachus laughed quietly and asked, "Where could I have been at that time?" But it signifies little to Alexander whether it be credited or no.

- 47 Certain it is, that apprehending the Macedonians would be weary of pursuing the war, he left the greater part of them in their quarters; and having with him in Hyrcania the choice of his men only, amounting to twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he spoke to them to this effect: *That hitherto the barbarians had seen them no otherwise than as it were in a dream, and if they should think of returning when they had only alarmed Asia, and not conquered it, their enemies would set upon them as upon so many women.* However, he told them he would keep none of them with him against their will, *they might go if they pleased; he should merely enter his protest, that when on his way to make the Macedonians the masters of the world, he was left alone with a few friends and volunteers.* This is almost word for word, as he wrote in a letter to Antipater, where he adds, that when he had thus spoken to them, they all cried out, *they would go with him anywhere in the world.* After succeeding with these, it was no hard matter to bring over the multitude, which easily followed the example. Now, also, he more and more accommodated himself in his way of living to that of the natives, and tried to bring them, also, as near as he could to the Macedonian customs, considering that whilst he was engaged on a distant expedition far from thence, it would be wiser to depend upon the goodwill which might arise from intermixture and association as a means of maintaining tranquillity, than upon force and com-

pulsion. In order to this, he chose out thirty thousand boys, whom he put under numerous masters to teach them the Greek tongue, and to train them up to arms in the Macedonian discipline. As for his marriage with Roxana, whose youthfulness and beauty had charmed him at a drinking entertainment, where he first happened to see her, taking part in a dance, it was, indeed, a love affair, yet it seemed at the same time to be conducive to the object he had in hand. For it gratified the conquered people to see him choose a wife from among themselves, and it made them feel the most lively affection for him, to find that in the only passion which he, the most temperate of men, was overcome by, he yet forebore till he could receive her in the lawful way. Noticing also, that among his chief friends and favourites, Hephæstion most approved all that he did, and complied with and imitated him in his change of habits, while Craterus continued strict in the customs and fashions of his own country, he made it his practice to employ the first in all transactions with the barbarians, and the latter, when he had to do with the Greeks or Macedonians. And in general he showed more affection for Hephæstion, and more respect for Craterus; *Hephæstion*, as he used to say, *being Alexander's, and Craterus the king's friend*. And so these two friends always bore in secret a grudge to each other, and at times quarrelled openly, so much so, that once in India they drew upon one another, and were proceeding in good earnest, with their friends on each side to second them, when Alexander rode up and publicly reproved Hephæstion, calling him *fool and madman*, not to be sensible that without his favour he was nothing. He rebuked Craterus also, in private severely, and then

Mar-
riage
with
Roxana,
B.C. 327.

causing them both to come into his presence, he reconciled them, at the same time swearing by Ammon and the rest of the gods, that *he loved them two above all other men, but if ever he perceived them fall out again he would be sure to put both of them to death, or at least the aggressor.* After which they neither ever did or said anything, so much as in jest, to offend one another.

- 48 There was scarcely any one who had a greater repute among the Macedonians than Philotas, the son of Parmenio. For besides that he was valiant and able to endure any fatigue of war, he was also next to Alexander himself the most munificent, and the greatest lover of his friends, one of whom asking him for some money, he commanded his steward to give it him; and when he told him he had not wherewith, "Have you not any plate then," said he, "or any clothes of mine to sell?" But he carried his arrogance and his pride of wealth and his habits of display and luxury to a degree of assumption unbecoming a private man: and affecting all the loftiness without succeeding in showing any of the grace or gentleness of true greatness, by this mistaken and spurious majesty he gained so much envy and ill-will, that Parmenio would sometimes tell him, "My son, be not quite so great." For he had long before been complained of, and accused to Alexander. When Darius was defeated in Cilicia, and the great booty taken at Damascus, among the many prisoners brought into the camp there was one Antigone of Pydna, a handsome woman, who fell to Philotas's share. The young man in his cups, in the vaunting, outspoken, soldier's manner, used to tell his mistress, that the great actions were performed by him and his father

the glory and benefit of which, he said, together with the title of king, *the boy Alexander* reaped and enjoyed by their means. She could not hold, but disclosed what he had said to one of her acquaintance, and he, as is usual in such cases, to another, till at last the story came to Craterus, who brought the woman secretly to the king. Alexander heard her, and commanded her to continue her visits to Philotas, and to give him an account from time to time of all that should fall from him.

He, thus unwittingly brought into a snare, to gratify 49 sometimes a fit of anger, sometimes a mere love of vain-glory, let himself utter numerous foolish, indiscreet speeches against the king in Antigone's hearing, of which though Alexander was informed and convinced by strong evidence, yet he would take no notice of it at present, whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's affection and loyalty, or that he apprehended their great name and influence in the army. But about this time one Limnust†, a Macedonian of Chalastra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his design to a youth of whom he was fond, named Nicomachus, inviting him to be of the party. But he not relishing the thing, revealed it to his brother Balinus, who immediately addressed himself to Philotas, requiring him to introduce them both to Alexander, to whom they had something of great and urgent importance to impart. He, for what reason is uncertain, did not bring them to the king, who he said was en-

Death
of Phi-
lotas,
B.C.330,
Octo-
ber.*

* In winter quarters, in Aria, not far from Herat, after the march through Parthia from Asterabad and the Caspian.

† Limnus is in other authors Dimnus, and Balinus, Cebalinus.

gaged with affairs of more moment. And this he did again a second time. Upon which, finding themselves slighted by Philotas, they applied to another, by whose means being admitted into Alexander's presence, they first told about Limnus's conspiracy, and by the way let Philotas's negligence appear, who had twice disregarded their application to him. Alexander was greatly incensed, and on finding that Limnus had defended himself, and had been killed by the soldier who was sent to seize him, he was still more discomposed, thinking he had thus lost the means of detecting the plot. As soon as his displeasure against Philotas appeared, at once all Philotas's old enemies showed themselves, and said openly, *the king was too easily imposed on*, to imagine that one so inconsiderable as Limnus, a Chalcastian, should of his own head undertake such an enterprise; that in all likelihood he was but subservient to the design, an instrument that was moved by some greater spring; that *those ought to be more looked to whose interest it had been to conceal it*. When they had once gained the king's ear for insinuations of this sort, they went on to show a thousand grounds of suspicion against Philotas; till at last they prevailed to have him seized and put to the torture, which was done in the presence of the principal officers, Alexander himself being placed behind some tapestry. Where when he heard in what a miserable tone, and with what abject submissions Philotas applied himself to Hephæstion, he broke out, it is said, in this manner: "Are you so mean-spirited and effeminate, Philotas, and yet could engage in so great a design?" After his death, he immediately sent into Media, and put

also Parmenio, his father, to death, who had done great service under Philip, and was the only man, of his older friends and counsellors, who had encouraged Alexander to invade Asia. Of three sons whom he had had in the army, he had already lost two, and now was himself put to death with the third. These actions rendered Alexander an object of terror to many of his friends, and chiefly to Antipater, who, to strengthen himself, sent messengers privately to treat for an alliance with the Ætolians, who stood in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the town of the Cœniadæ; on being informed of which, Alexander had said the children of the Cœniadæ need not revenge their fathers' quarrel, for he would himself take care to punish the Ætolians.

Not long after this happened the death of Clitus, 50
 which to those who simply hear the matter-of-fact, may Death
 of Clitus, B.C.
 328.* seem more inhuman than that of Philotas; but if we take the story with its circumstance of time, and consider the cause, we find the act to have been done not on purpose, but through an unhappy chance of the king's, whose anger and over-drinking offered an occasion to the evil genius of Clitus. The king had a present of Grecian fruit brought him from the sea-coast, which was so fresh and beautiful, that he was surprised at it, and called Clitus to him to see it, and to give him a share of it. Clitus was then sacrificing, but he immediately left off and came, followed by three sheep, on whom the drink-offering had been already poured preparatory to sacrificing them. Alexander, being informed of this, told his diviners, Aristander and

* After his return southwards from the Jaxartes, on his way back into Bactria; at Samarcand.

Cleomantis the Lacedæmonian, and asked them what it meant; on whose assuring him it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all haste to offer sacrifices for Clitus's safety, forasmuch as three days before he himself had seen a strange vision in his sleep, of Clitus sitting with Parmenio's dead sons, all of them in black clothes. But the sacrifices had not yet been finished, when Clitus came to supper with the king, who had sacrificed to Castor and Pollux. And when they had drunk pretty hard, some of the company began to sing the verses of one Pranichus, or as others say, of Pierion, which were made in ridicule of those captains who had been lately worsted by the barbarians. This gave offence to the older men, and they upbraided both the author and the singer of the verses, though Alexander and the younger men about him were much amused to hear them, and encouraged them to go on, till at last Clitus, who had drunk too much, and was besides of a hot and wilful temper, was so nettled that he could hold no longer, saying, *it was not well done to expose the Macedonians so before the barbarians and their enemies*, since though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better men than those who laughed at them. And when Alexander said *Clitus was pleading his own cause; giving cowardice the name of misfortune*, Clitus started up; "This cowardice, as you are pleased to term it," said he, "saved the life of a son of the gods, when in flight from Spithridates's sword; and it is by the expense of Macedonian blood, and by these wounds, that you are now raised to such a height, as to be able to disown your father Philip, and call yourself the son of Ammon."

"Thou base fellow," said Alexander, who was now 51 thoroughly exasperated, "dost thou think to utter these things everywhere of me, and stir up the Macedonians to sedition, and not be punished for it?" "We are punished already," answered Clitus, "if this be the recompense of our toils, and we must esteem theirs a happy lot, who have not lived to see their countrymen scourged with Median rods, and forced to sue to the Persians to have access to their king." While he talked thus at random, and those near Alexander got up from their seats and began to revile him in turn, the elder men did what they could to compose the disorder. Alexander in the meantime turning to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, asked them *if they were not of opinion that the Greeks, in comparison with the Macedonians, behaved themselves like so many demi-gods among wild beasts.* But Clitus would not give over, desiring Alexander *to speak out if he had anything more to say, or else why did he invite men who were freeborn and accustomed to say their minds openly without restraint, to sup with him; he had better live and converse with barbarians and slaves who would not scruple to bow the knee to his Persian girdle and his white tunic.* Which words so provoked Alexander, that not able to suppress his anger any longer, he threw one of the apples that lay upon the table at him, and hit him, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes, one of his life-guard, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him and besought him, but in vain. For breaking from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, which was a certain sign of some great disturbance in him, and

commanded the trumpeter to sound, giving him a blow with his clenched fist for not instantly obeying him ; though afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an order which would have put the whole army into tumult and confusion. Clitus still refusing to yield, was with much trouble forced by his friends out of the room. But he came in again immediately at another door, very irreverently and confidently declaiming the verses out of Euripides's *Andromache*, —

*In Greece, alas ! how ill things ordered are ! **

Upon this, at last, Alexander, snatching a spear from one of the soldiers, met Clitus as he was coming forward and was putting by the curtain that hung before the door, and ran him through the body. He fell at once with a cry and a groan. Upon which the king's anger immediately vanishing, he came perfectly to himself, and when he saw his friends about him all in a profound silence, he pulled the spear out of the dead

* The offensiveness is in the verses that follow :—

*When trophies rise for victories in war,
Men count the praise not theirs who did the deed,
But to the one commander give the meed ;
Who, sharing with ten thousand more the fight,
For one man's service takes the general right.
So in the city set with lofty air,
Worthless themselves, they scorn their fellows there,
Who, better far than these they serve below,
Want but the will and boldness for the blow.*

They are spoken by Peleus to Menelaus, 693—702, and seem to have been a noted passage in the theatres.

body, and would have thrust it into his own throat, if the guards had not held his hands, and by main force carried him away into his chamber.

There all that night and the next day he wept bitterly, till being quite spent with lamenting and exclaiming, he lay as it were speechless, only fetching deep sighs. His friends apprehending some harm from his silence, broke into the room, but he took no notice of what any of them said, till Aristander putting him in mind of the vision he had seen concerning Clitus, and the prodigy that followed, as if all had come to pass by an unavoidable fatality, he then seemed to moderate his grief. They now brought Callisthenes the philosopher, the near relation of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera, to him. Callisthenes used moral language, and gentle and soothing means, hoping to find access for words of reason, and get a hold upon the passion. But Anaxarchus, who had always taken a course of his own in philosophy, and had a name for despising and slighting his cotemporaries, as soon as he came in, cried out aloud, "Is this the Alexander whom the whole world looks to, lying here weeping like a slave, for fear of the judgment and blame of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law and measure of equity, if he would use the right his conquests have given him as supreme lord and governor of all, and not be the victim of a vain and idle opinion? Do not you know," said he, "that Jupiter is represented to have Justice and Law on each hand of him, to signify that all the actions of a conqueror are lawful and just?" With these and the like speeches Anaxarchus indeed allayed the king's grief, but withal corrupted his character, rendering it in many respects

more audacious and lawless than hitherto. Nor did he fail at the same time to insinuate himself wonderfully into his favour, and to make Callisthenes's company, which at all times, because of his austerity, was not very acceptable, more disagreeable to him. These two philosophers, we are told, once met at an entertainment, where conversation turned on the subject of climate and the temperature of the air. Callisthenes joined in their opinion, who maintained that these countries were colder, and the winter sharper here than in Greece : Anaxarchus would by no means allow this, but argued against it with some vehemence. " Surely," said Callisthenes, " you cannot but admit this country to be colder than Greece, for there you used to wear but one common cloak through the coldest winter, and here you have three good warm mantles one over another." This did not help to conciliate Anaxarchus.

- 53 And the other pretenders to learning and the flatterers in general could not without vexation see Callisthenes admired and followed by the youth for his teaching, and no less esteemed by the older men for his orderly life and gravity, and for being contented with his condition ; all confirming what he had professed about the object he had in this journey to Alexander, that it was only to get his countrymen recalled from banishment, and to rebuild and repeople his native town.* Besides the envy which his great reputation raised, he also by his own deportment gave those who wished him ill opportunity to do him mischief. For when he was invited

* Olynthus, which Philip had destroyed, and for which Callisthenes hoped to obtain from Alexander the same favour, which Philip showed for Aristotle's sake to Stagira.

to entertainments, he would most times refuse to come, or if he were present at any, he put a constraint upon the company by his austerity and silence, which seemed to intimate his disapproval of what he saw. So that Alexander himself said in application to him,

*His vain pretence to wisdom I detest,
Who is not wise to his own interest.**

Being invited with many others to sup with the king, he was called upon, when the cup came to him †, to make an oration extempore in praise of the Macedonians; and he did it with such a flow of eloquence, that the hearers rose from their seats to clap him, and throw their garlands upon him; only Alexander told him out of Euripides,

*I do not wonder that you speak so well,
'Tis easy on good subjects to excel.*

"Therefore," said he, "if you will show the force of your eloquence, tell my Macedonians their faults, and dispraise them, that by hearing their errors they may learn to be better for the future." Callisthenes pre-

* A fragment from a lost play of Euripides; briefly in the original, "I hate the *sophist* who is not *sophos* for himself." *Sophist*, which at first meant a man of superior knowledge and cleverness, a scholar, was now the common name for lecturers and teachers in logic and (less properly) in rhetoric. It was used much as *doctor* is for physician, as the familiar title (sometimes a little disparaging) for the philosophers or moralists who at this time exercised among the Greeks, as may be seen just above in the story of Clitus, a sort of clerical function.

† Compare Demosthenes, p. 362. The banquet was in B.C. 327, at Bactra (Balkh), near the Oxus, where Alexander celebrated his marriage with Roxana, mentioned already in Chap. 47.

sently obeyed him, retracting all he had said before; and, inveighing against the Macedonians with great freedom, said, that Philip thrived and grew powerful, chiefly by the discord of the Grecians, applying to him the verse —

In civil strife d'en villains rise to fame ;

which excited bitter feelings of hatred against him among the Macedonians. And Alexander said, that instead of his eloquence, he had only shown his ill-will.

- 54 This is the account which Hermippus tells us was given afterwards to Aristotle by Stræbus, whom Callisthenes kept to read to him; also that Callisthenes, when he perceived the king grow more and more averse to him, two or three times, as he was leaving him, repeated to himself the verses, —

*Death seized at last on great Patroclus too,
Though he in virtue far exceeded you.*

Not without reason therefore did Aristotle say of Callisthenes, that he was, indeed, a powerful speaker, but had no judgment. He acted certainly a true philosopher's part in positively refusing, as he did, to pay adoration; and by speaking out openly against that which the best and gravest of the Macedonians only repined at in secret, he delivered the Greeks and Alexander himself from a great disgrace, when the practice was given up. But he ruined himself by acting as if he wished to force the king to what should have been effected by reason and persuasion. Chares of Mitylene writes, that at a banquet, Alexander, after he had drunk, reached the cup to one of his friends, who, on receiving it, rose up towards the domestic altar, and when he had drunk,

first adored, and then kissed Alexander, and afterwards laid himself down at the table with the rest. Which they all did one after another, till it came to Callisthenes's turn, who took the cup, and while the king, who was engaged in conversation with Hephæstion, was not observing, drank, and then came and offered to kiss him. But Demetrius, surnamed Phidon, interposed, saying, "Sir, by no means let him kiss you, for he only of us all has refused to adore you;" upon which the king declined it, and Callisthenes said aloud, "Then I go away with a kiss less than the others."

The displeasure he had in these ways incurred ob- 55
tained credit for Hephæstion's declaration that he had
broken his word to him, having previously promised to
adore. And then, a number of such men as Lysimachus
and Hagnon came in with their asseverations, that
the *sophist went about boasting of his resistance to ar- Con-
bitrary power, and that the young men all ran after spiracy
him, and honoured him as the only man among so many of the
thousands who had the courage to preserve his liberty. pages,
Therefore when Hermolaus's conspiracy came to be dis- B.C. 327.*
covered, the charges which his enemies brought against
him were the more easily believed, particularly that
when a young man asked him *what he should do to be
the most illustrious person*, he told him the readiest way
was *to kill him who was already so*; and that to incite
Hermolaus to commit the deed, he bade him not be awed
by the golden couch, but remember Alexander was a
man equally infirm and vulnerable as another. How-
ever, none of Hermolaus's accomplices, in the utmost
extremity, said anything against Callisthenes. Nay,
Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote just

after to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, tells them that the young men who were put to the torture, declared they had done all of themselves, without any others being privy to it. But yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he includes Callisthenes in the charge. "The young men," he says, "were stoned to death by the Macedonians; and as for the sophist, I will take care to punish him, with them too who sent him to me, and who harbour those in their cities who conspire against me," an unequivocal declaration against Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, for his relationship's sake, being his niece Hero's son, had been educated. His death is variously related. Some say he was hung by Alexander's orders; others, that he died of sickness in prison and in chains. But Chares writes that he was kept in chains seven months after he was apprehended, on purpose that he might be proceeded against in full council, when Aristotle should be present; and that growing very fat, and contracting a disease of vermin, he there died, about the time that Alexander was wounded in India. This however was at a later date.

- 56 Demaratus of Corinth, when quite an old man, had made a great effort to pay Alexander a visit; and when he had seen him, said he *pitied the misfortune of those Grecians who had died before seeing Alexander sitting on the throne of Darius*. However he had not long enjoyed the benefit of the king's kindness for him, when he fell sick and died. He was honoured with a magnificent funeral; the army raised him a monument of earth, eighty cubits high, and of a vast circumference. His ashes were conveyed in a chariot richly decorated, and drawn by four horses, to the sea side.

Alexander, now about to pass over into India, took 57
 notice that the army was so charged with booty that it ^{Prepara-}
 hindered their marching. Therefore, at break of day, ^{rations}
 as soon as the baggage waggons were laden, first he ^{to in-}
 set fire to his own, and to those of his companions, and ^{vade}
 then commanded those to be burnt which belonged to ^{India.}
 the rest of the army. An act which in the deliberation
 of it had seemed more dangerous and difficult than it
 proved in the execution, with which few were dissatis-
 fied; for most of the soldiers, as if they had been
 inspired, uttering loud outcries and warlike shoutings,
 supplied one another with what was absolutely neces-
 sary, and burnt and destroyed all that was superfluous,
 the sight of which redoubled Alexander's zeal and
 eagerness for his design. And, indeed, he was now
 grown very severe and inexorable in punishing those
 who committed any fault. He put Menander, one of
 his companions to death, for deserting a fortress where
 he had placed him in charge, and shot Orsodates, one
 of the barbarians who revolted from him, with his own
 hand. At this time a sheep happened to yeau a lamb
 with a tiara perfect in shape and colour on its head, but
 otherwise strangely deformed. Alexander was filled
 with such disgust at the portent, that he ordered his
 Babylonian priests, whom he habitually carried about
 with him for such purposes, to purify him, and told
 his friends he was not so much concerned for his own
 sake as for theirs, out of apprehension that after his
 death the divine power might *transfer his empire into*
the hands of some degenerate, impotent person. But
 this fear was removed by a better omen that befell
 him not long after. Proxenus, a Macedonian, who was

the chief of those who looked to the king's furniture, as he was breaking up the ground near the river Oxus, to set up the royal pavilion, laid open a spring of a fat, oily liquor, which after the top was taken off, ran pure, clear oil, without any difference either of taste or smell, having exactly the same smoothness and brightness, and that, too, in a country where no olives grew. The water indeed of the river Oxus is said to be the smoothest to the feeling of all waters, and to leave a gloss on the skins of those who bathe in it. Whatever might be the cause, Alexander was wonderfully pleased with it, as appears by his letters to Antipater, where he speaks of it as one of the most remarkable presages that he had ever been favoured with. The diviners told him it signified his expedition would be glorious in the event, but painful, and attended with many difficulties; for oil, they said, *was bestowed on mankind to refresh them after labour.*

- 58 And true indeed it was that he encountered many dangers in the battles which he fought, and received very severe wounds; though the greatest loss in his army was occasioned through the unwholesomeness of the air, and the want of necessary provisions. But he still set himself to outdo adverse fortune by his boldness and the power of his enemies by his valour, and thought nothing impossible to true intrepidity, and on the other hand nothing secure or strong for cowardice. It is told of him that when he besieged Sisimithres, who held an inaccessible, impregnable rock against him, and his soldiers began to despair of taking it, he asked Oxyartes whether Sisimithres was a man of courage, who assuring him he was the greatest coward

alive, "Then you tell me," said he, "that the place may easily be taken, since what is in command of it is weak." And in a little time he so terrified Sisimithres, that he took it. At an attack which he made upon such another precipitous place*, among his encouragements to the younger Macedonians, he called to one whose name was Alexander, and told him, *he, at any rate, must fight bravely, if it were but for his name's sake.* The youth fought gallantly and was killed in the action, at which he was sensibly distressed. Another time, seeing his men march slowly and unwillingly to the siege of the place called Nysa, because of a deep river between them and the town, he advanced before them, and standing upon the bank, "What a miserable man," said he, "am I, that I have not learned to swim!" and then was hardly dissuaded from endeavouring to pass it upon his shield. Here, after the assault was over, the ambassadors who from several towns which he had blockaded, came to submit to him and make their peace, were surprised to find him still in his armour, without any one in waiting or attendance upon him, and when at last some one brought him a cushion, he made the eldest of them, named Acuphis, take it and sit down upon it. The old man, marvelling at his magnanimity and courtesy, asked him what his countrymen should do to merit his friendship. "I would have them," said Alexander, "choose you to govern them, and send one hundred of the most worthy men among them to remain with me

Invasion of India, Capture of Aornos and Nysa, B.C. 327. Eighth year in Asia.

* Aornos, described as on the right bank of the Indus. This and Nysa, so called, are both in Cabul. The kingdom of Taxiles is across the Indus, which Alexander passed, perhaps, at Attock.

as hostages." Acuphis laughed, and answered, "I shall govern them with more ease, sir, if I send you so many of the worst, rather than of the best of my subjects."

59 The dominions of the king Taxiles in India were
Submission of King Taxiles. thought to be in extent as large as Egypt, abounding in good pastures, and producing beautiful fruits; and the king himself a wise man, who at his first interview with Alexander, spoke to him in these terms: "To what purpose," said he, "should we make war upon one another, if the object of your coming into these parts be not to rob us of our water or our necessary food, which are the only things that wise men are really obliged to fight for? As for other riches and possessions, as they are accounted, if I am better provided than you, I am ready to let you share with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to you than me, I have no objection to be obliged to you." This address pleased Alexander, and embracing him, "Do you think," said he, "your words and courteous behaviour will bring you off in this interview without a contest? No, you shall not escape so. I shall contend and do battle with you so far, that how obliging soever you are, you shall not have the better of me." Then receiving some presents from him, he returned him others of greater value, and gave him in coined money one thousand talents; at which his old friends were much displeased, but it gained him the good-will of many of the barbarians. But the best soldiers of the Indians now entered into the pay of several of the cities, and went about and defended them so bravely, that they put Alexander to a great deal of trouble, till at last, after a capitulation, upon the surrender of a town, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and

put them all to the sword. This one act remains as a blemish upon his achievements in war, which he otherwise had performed throughout with kingly justice and honour. Nor was he less incommoded by the Indian philosophers, who inveighed against the princes who joined his party, and roused the free nations to oppose him. So he hung several of these also.

He has given us in his own letters an account of 60 his war with Porus. He says the two armies were separated by the river Hydaspes, on whose opposite bank Porus continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemies, to guard the passage; that he, on the other hand, made every day a great noise and clamour in his camp, to accustom the barbarians to hear it with apprehension; that one stormy dark night he passed the river, at a distance from the place where the enemy lay, into a little island, with part of his foot, and the best of his horse. Here there fell a most violent storm of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and seeing some of his men burnt and dying with the lightning, he nevertheless quitted the island and made over to the other side. The Hydaspes, he says, now after the storm, was so swollen and grown so rapid, as to have made a breach in the bank, and a part of the river was now pouring in here, so that when he came across, it was with difficulty he got a footing on the land, which was slippery and unsteady, and exposed to the force of the currents on both sides. This is the occasion when he is related to have said, "O ye Athenians, will ye believe what dangers I

Battle
of the
Hydaspes, B.C.
326.*
Ninth
year in
Asia.

* Or, according to another arrangement, still in B.C. 327. The dates vary till B.C. 323. The Hydaspes is the Jelum, in the Punjab.

incur to merit your praise?" This, however, is Onesicritus's story. Alexander says, here the men left their boats, and passed the new channel in their armour, up to the breast in water, and that then he advanced with his horse about twenty furlongs before his foot, concluding that if the enemy charged him with their cavalry, he should be too strong for them; if with their foot, his own would come up time enough to his assistance. Nor did he judge amiss; for being charged by a thousand horse, and sixty armed chariots, he took all the chariots, and killed four hundred horse upon the place. And Porus, by this time understanding that Alexander himself had crossed over, came on with his whole army, except a party which he left behind, to hold the rest of the Macedonians in play, if they should attempt to pass the river. Alexander therefore, fearing the elephants and the numbers of the enemy, divided his forces, and attacked their left wing himself, and commanded Cœnus to fall upon the right, and by this means both wings being broken, the enemies fell back in their retreat upon the centre, and crowded in upon their elephants. There rallying, they fought a hand to hand battle, and it was the eighth hour before they were entirely defeated. This description the conqueror himself has left us in his own epistles. The greater part of the historians agree in relating that Porus was four cubits and a span high, and that when he was upon his elephant, which was of the largest size, his stature and bulk were so answerable, that he appeared to be mounted as a horseman on his horse. This elephant, during the whole battle, showed a wonderful sagacity and care of the king, whom as long as he was

strong and in a condition to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling those who set upon him; and as soon as he perceived him overpowered with his numerous wounds and the multitude of darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly knelt down and began to draw out the darts with his proboscis. When Porus was taken prisoner, and Alexander asked how he expected to be used, he answered, "As a king." For *that expression*, he said, when the same question was put to him a second time, *comprehended everything*. And Alexander, accordingly, not only suffered him to govern his own kingdom as satrap under himself, but gave him also the additional territory of various independent tribes whom he subdued, a district which, it is said, contained fifteen several nations, and five thousand considerable towns, besides abundance of villages. To another government, three times as large as this, he appointed Philip, one of his companions.

Some little time after the battle with Porus, Bucephalus died, as most of the authorities state, under cure of his wounds, or as Onesicritus says, of fatigue and age, being thirty years old. Alexander was no less concerned at his death, than if he had lost an old companion or an intimate friend, and built a city, which he named Bucephalia, in memory of him, on the bank of the river Hydaspes. He also, we are told, built another city, and called it after the name of a favourite dog, Peritas, which he had brought up himself. So Sotion assures us he was informed by Potamon of Lesbos.

But this last combat with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonians' courage, and stayed their further progress into India. For having found it hard enough

to defeat an enemy who brought but twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field, they utterly opposed Alexander's design of leading them on to pass the Ganges too, which they were told was thirty-two furlongs broad and a hundred fathoms deep, and the banks on the further side covered with multitudes of armed men, and horses, and elephants. For they were told that the kings of the Gandaritans and Præsians expected them there with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. Nor was this a mere vain report, spread to discourage them. For Androcottus*, who not long after reigned in those parts, made a present of five hundred elephants at once to Seleucus, and with an army of six hundred thousand men subdued all India. Alexander at first was so grieved and enraged that he shut himself up in his tent, and there lay, declaring, *if they would not pass the Ganges, he owed them no thanks for anything they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now, was plainly to confess himself vanquished.* But at last the reasonable persuasions of his friends and the cries and lamentations of his soldiers, who in a suppliant manner crowded about the entrance of his tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet he could not refrain from leaving behind him various deceptive memorials of his

* Or Sandracottus, as the name is given in Arrian and other writers, identical, it is generally presumed, with the Sandragupta of Indian history and literature. At his court Megasthenes, the envoy of Seleucus, met apparently some of the Buddhist ascetics and philosophers. Calanus and the gymnosophists whom we read of here, would be of the old Brahminical religion.

expedition, to impose upon after-times, and to exaggerate his glory with posterity, such as arms larger than were really worn, and mangers for horses, with bits of bridles above the usual size, which he distributed in several places. He erected altars also, to the gods, which the kings of the Præsians even in our time do honour to when they pass the river, and offer sacrifice upon them after the Grecian manner. Androcottus, then a boy, saw Alexander there, and is said often afterwards to have been heard to say, that he *missed but little of making himself master of those countries*; their king, who then reigned, was so hated and despised for the viciousness of his life, and the meanness of his extraction.

Alexander was now eager to see the ocean. To which 63 purpose he caused a great many row-boats and rafts to be built, in which he fell gently down the rivers at his leisure, yet so that his navigation was neither unprofitable nor inactive. For by descents upon the banks, and attacks on the towns, he subdued the country. But at a siege of a town of the Mallians, who have the repute of being the bravest people of India, he ran in great danger of his life. For having beaten off the defendants with showers of arrows, he was the first man that mounted the wall by a scaling ladder, which, when he had got up, broke and left him almost alone, exposed to the darts, which the barbarians threw at him in great numbers from below. In this distress, turning himself as well as he could, he leapt down in the midst of his enemies, and had the good fortune to light upon his feet. The brightness and clattering of his armour when he came to the ground, made the barbarians think they

saw rays of light, or some bright phantom playing before his body, which frightened them so at first, that they ran away and dispersed. Till seeing him seconded by two of his guards, they fell upon him hand to hand, and some, while he bravely defended himself, tried to wound him through his armour with their swords and spears. And one who stood further off, drew a bow with such just strength, that the arrow finding its way through his cuirass, stuck in his ribs under the breast. This stroke was so violent, that it made him give back, and set one knee to the ground, upon which the man ran up with his drawn scimitar, thinking to despatch him, and had done it, if Peucestes and Limnæus had not interposed, who were both wounded, Limnæus mortally, but Peucestes stood his ground, while Alexander killed the barbarian. But this did not free him from danger; for besides many other wounds, at last he received so weighty a stroke of a club upon his neck, that he was forced to lean his body against the wall, still, however, facing the enemy. At this extremity, the Macedonians made their way in and gathered round him. They took him up, just as he had fainted away, having lost all sense of what was done near him, and conveyed him to his tent, upon which it was presently reported all over the camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains sawed off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and so with much trouble got off his cuirass, they came to cut out the head of it, which was three fingers broad and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. During the operation, he was taken with almost mortal swoonings, but when it was out he came to himself again. Yet though all danger was past, he continued very weak, and con-

fined himself a great while to a regular diet and course of treatment, till one day hearing the Macedonians clamouring outside in their eagerness to see him, he took his cloak and went out. And having sacrificed to the gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along, subdued a great deal of the country, and several considerable cities.

In this voyage, he took ten of the Indian philosophers 64 prisoners, who had been most active in persuading Sabbas to revolt, and had caused the Macedonians a great deal of trouble. These men, called Gymnosophists, were reputed to be extremely ready and succinct in their answers, which he made trial of, by putting difficult questions to them, letting them know that those whose answers were not pertinent, should be put to death, of which he made the eldest of them judge. The first being asked *which he thought were most numerous, the dead or the living*, answered, "The living, because those who are dead are not at all." Of the second, he desired to know *whether the earth or the sea produced the largest beast*; who told him, "The earth, for the sea is but a part of it." His question to the third was, *which was the cunningest of beasts*? "That," said he, "which men have not yet found out." He bade the fourth tell him *what argument he used to Sabbas to persuade him revolt*. "No other," said he, "than that he should either live or die nobly." Of the fifth he asked, *which was eldest, night or day*? The philosopher replied, "Day was eldest, by one day." But perceiving Alexander not well satisfied with that account, he added, that *he ought not to wonder if strange questions had as strange answers made to them*.

Then he went on and inquired of the next, *what a man should do to be exceedingly beloved*. "He must be very powerful," said he, "without making himself too much feared." The answer of the seventh to his question, *how a man might become a god*, was, "By doing that which it is impossible for men to do." The eighth told him, "Life is stronger than death, because it supports so many miseries." And the last man being asked, *how long he thought it well for a man to live*, said, "Till death appeared more desirable than life." Then Alexander turned to him whom he had made judge, and commanded him to give sentence. "All that I can determine," said he, "is, that they have every one answered worse than another." "Nay," said the king, "then you shall die first, for giving such a sentence." "Not so, O king," replied the gymnosophist, "unless you said falsely that he should die first who made the worst answer."

- 65 In conclusion he gave them presents and dismissed them. But to those who were in greatest reputation among them, and lived a private quiet life, he sent Onesicritus, one of Diogenes the Cynic's disciples, desiring them to come to him. Calanus, it is said, very arrogantly and roughly commanded him to strip himself, and hear what he said, naked, otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from Jupiter himself. But Dandamis received him with more gentleness, and hearing him discourse of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him he *thought they had been men of great gifts, but had lived with too great respect for laws and customs*. Others say, Dandamis only asked him the reason *why Alexander*

undertook so long a journey to come into those parts. Taxiles, however, persuaded Calanus to wait upon Alexander. His proper name was Sphines, but he used to say *Cale*, which in the Indian tongue is a form of salutation to those he met with, and so the Greeks called him *Calanus*. He is said to have shown Alexander the emblem of government, which was this. He threw a dry shrivelled hide upon the ground, and trod upon the edges of it. The skin, when it was pressed in one place, still rose up in another, wherever he trod, as he went round about it, till he set his foot in the middle, which made all the parts lie even and quiet: the meaning of this similitude being that he ought to reside most in the middle of his empire, and not spend too much time on the borders of it.

His voyage down the rivers took up seven months' 66
time, and when he came to the sea, he sailed to an island which he himself called Scillustis, others Psil-
tucis, where going ashore, he sacrificed, and made what
observations he could as to the nature of the sea and
the coast. Then having besought the gods that no
other man might ever go beyond the bounds of this
expedition, he ordered his fleet, of which he made
Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus pilot, to sail round
about, keeping the Indian shore on the right hand, and
returned himself by land through the country of the
Orites, where he was reduced to great distress for
want of provisions, and lost a vast number of men, so

Arrival
at the
sea, and
return
through
Gedro-
sia, B.C.
325.*
Tenth
year in
Asia.

* The seven months (according to Strabo, ten) are from the setting of the Pleiads in one year to the close of the following summer; late in 326 (or 327) to the middle of 325 (or 326).

that of an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, he scarcely brought back above a fourth part out of India, they were so diminished by diseases, ill diet, and the scorching heats, but most by famine. For their march was through an uncultivated country whose inhabitants fared hardly, possessing only a few sheep, and those of a wretched kind, whose flesh was rank and unsavoury, by their continual feeding upon sea-fish. After sixty days march he came into Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of all things, which the neighbouring kings and governors of provinces provided.

67. When he had here refreshed his army, he continued his march through Carmania, feasting all the way for seven days together. He, with his companions, banqueted and revelled night and day upon a platform erected on a lofty conspicuous scaffold, which was slowly drawn by eight horses. This was followed by a great many chariots, some covered with purple and embroidered canopies, and some with green boughs, which were continually supplied afresh, and in them the rest of his friends and commanders drinking, and crowned with garlands of flowers. Here was now no target or helmet or spear to be seen; instead of armour, the soldiers handled nothing but cups and goblets and Thericlean drinking vessels, which, along the whole way, they dipped into large bowls and jars, and drank healths to one another, some seating themselves to it, others as they went along. All places resounded with music of pipes and flutes, with harping and singing, and women dancing as in the rites of Bacchus. For this disorderly, wandering march, besides the drinking part of it, was

accompanied with all the sportiveness and insolence of bacchanals, as though the god himself were there to lead the procession. As soon as he came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he again refreshed and feasted his army; and one day after he had drunk pretty hard, it is said, he went to see a prize of dancing contended for, in which his favourite Bagoas, having gained the victory, crossed the theatre in his dancing habit, and sat down close by him, which so pleased the Macedonians, that they made loud acclamations for him to kiss Bagoas, and never stopped clapping their hands and shouting till Alexander put his arms round him and kissed him.

Here his admiral, Nearchus, came to him, and de- 68 lighted him so with the narrative of his voyage, that he resolved himself to sail out of the mouth of Euphrates with a great fleet, with which he designed to go round by Arabia and Africa, and so by Hercules's Pillars into the Mediterranean; in order for which, he directed all sorts of vessels to be built at Thapsacus, and collected seamen and pilots everywhere. But the tidings of the difficulties he had gone through in his inland expedition, the danger of his person among the Mallians, the reported loss of a great part of his forces, and a general doubt as to his own safety, had begun to give occasion for revolt among many of the conquered nations, and for acts of great injustice, avarice, and insolence on the part of the satraps and commanders in the provinces, so that there seemed to be an universal fluctuation and disposition to change. Even at home, Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction against Antipater, and divided his government between them, Olympias seizing upon Epirus, and Cleopatra upon Macedonia. When Alexander

was told of it, he said *his mother had made the best choice, for the Macedonians would not endure to be ruled by a woman*. Upon this he despatched Nearchus again to his fleet, to carry the war into all the maritime provinces, and as he marched that way himself, he punished those commanders who had behaved ill, particularly Oxyartes*, one of the sons of Abuletes, whom he killed with his own hand, thrusting him through the body with his spear. And when Abuletes, instead of the necessary provisions which he ought to have furnished, brought him three thousand talents in coined money, he ordered it to be thrown to his horses, and when they would not touch it, "What good," he said, "will this provision do us?" and sent him away to prison.

- 69 When he came into Persia, he distributed money among the women, as their own kings had been wont to do, who as often as they came thither, gave every one of them a piece of gold; on account of which custom some of them, it is said, had come but seldom, and Ochus was so sordid, that to avoid the expense, he never visited his native country once in all his reign. Then finding Cyrus's sepulchre opened† and rifled, he put Polymachus, who did it, to death, though he was a man of some distinction, a born Macedonian of Pella. And after he had read the inscription, he caused it to be cut again below the old one in Greek characters; the words being these: "O man, whosoever thou art, and from whencesoever thou comest (for I know thou wilt come), I

* Or Oxathres.

† At Pasargadae, not far from Persepolis. Persia is, as before, Persis, or Persia proper.

am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire; do not grudge me this little earth which covers my body." The reading of this extremely touched Alexander, filling his mind with the thought of the uncertainty and mu-



Cyrus the Great, from a pillar at Pasargadae.

tability of affairs. Here also Calanus, having been a little while troubled with a disease in the bowels, requested that he might have a funeral pile erected, to

which he came on horseback, and after he had said some prayers and sprinkled himself and cut off some of his hair to throw into the fire, before he ascended it, he embraced and took leave of the Macedonians who stood by, desiring them to pass that day in mirth and good-fellowship with their king, *whom in a little time*, he said, *he doubted not but to see again at Babylon*. Having thus said, he lay down, and covering up his face, he stirred not when the fire came near him, but continued still in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself, as it was the ancient custom of the philosophers in those countries to do. The same thing was done long after by another Indian, who came with Cæsar to Athens, where they still show you "the Indian's monument."

- 70 At his return from the funeral pile, Alexander invited a great many of his friends and principal officers to supper, and proposed a drinking match, in which the victor should receive a crown. Promachus drank twelve quarts of wine, and won the prize, which was a talent, from them all; but he survived his victory but three days, and was followed, as Chares says, by forty-one more, who died of the same debauch, some extremely cold weather having set in shortly after. At Susa, he married Darius's daughter Statira, and celebrated also the nuptials of his companions, bestowing the noblest of the Persian ladies upon the worthiest of them, at the same time making it an entertainment in honour of the other Macedonians whose marriages had already taken place. At this festival, it is related, there were no less than nine thousand guests, to each of whom he gave a golden cup for the libations. And not to mention

Arrival
at Susa,
B.C. 324.
Mar-
riage
with
Statira.
Elev-
enth
year in
Asia.

other instances of magnificence, he paid the debts of his army, which amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents. Antigenes, who had lost one of his eyes, though he owed nothing, got his name set down in the list of those who were in debt, and bringing to the money-table one who pretended to be his creditor, professed there to pay him the money. But when the cheat was found out, the king was so incensed at it, that he banished him from court, and took away his command, though he was an excellent soldier, and when he was but a youth, and served under Philip at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye by an arrow shot out of an engine, he would neither let the arrow be taken out, nor would quit the field, till he had repulsed the enemy and forced them to retire into the town. Accordingly he was not able to support the disgrace with any patience, and it was plain that grief and despair would have made him kill himself, but that the king fearing it, not only pardoned him, but let him also enjoy the benefit of his deceit.

The thirty thousand boys, whom he left behind him to 71 be taught and disciplined, were so improved at his return, both in strength and beauty, and performed their exercises with such dexterity and wonderful agility, that he was extremely pleased with them, which grieved the Macedonians, and made them fear he would have the less value for them. And when he proceeded to send down the infirm and maimed soldiers to the sea, they said they were unjustly and infamously dealt with, after they were worn out in his service upon all occasions, now to be turned away with disgrace and sent home into their country among their friends and relations, in

a worse condition than when they came out; therefore they desired him *to dismiss them one and all, and to account his Macedonians useless, now he was so well furnished with a set of dancing boys, with whom, if he pleased, he might go on and conquer the world.* These speeches so incensed Alexander, that after he had given them a great deal of reproachful language in his passion, he drove them away, and committed the watch to Persians, out of whom he chose his guards and attendants. When the Macedonians saw him escorted by these men, and themselves excluded and shamefully disgraced, their high spirits fell, and conferring with one another, they found that jealousy and rage had almost distracted them. And at last coming to their senses, they went without their arms, with only their under garments on, crying and weeping, to offer themselves at his tent, and desired him to deal with them as their baseness and ingratitude deserved. However, this would not prevail; for though his anger was already somewhat mollified, yet he would not admit them into his presence. Nor would they stir from thence, but continued two days and nights before his tent, bewailing themselves, and imploring him as their lord to have compassion on them. On the third day he came out to them, and seeing them very humble and penitent, he wept himself a great while, and after a gentle reproof spoke kindly to them, and dismissed those who were unserviceable with magnificent rewards, and with this recommendation to Antipater, that when they came home, at all public shows and in the theatres, they should sit on the foremost seats, crowned with chaplets. He ordered also, that the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, should have their fathers' pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had settled 72
all affairs that were pressing, he again gave dramatic ^{Death}
shows and public entertainments, for which a supply ^{of He-}
of three thousand actors and artists had now arrived out ^{phæ-}
of Greece. But just at this time Hephæstion was sick ^{stion, at}
of a fever, and being a young man and a soldier, he ^{Ecbatana.}
would not confine himself to the proper diet, and whilst
his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, ate a
fowl for his morning's meal, and drank a large draught
of wine, upon which he became very ill, and shortly
after died. On this misfortune, Alexander lost all con-
trol over his grief; he immediately ordered the manes
and tails of all his horses and mules to be cut, and threw
down the battlements of the neighbouring cities as a
mark of his mourning. The poor physician he crucified,
and forbade playing on the flute or any other musical
instrument in the camp a great while, till directions
came from the oracle of Ammon, and enjoined him to
honour Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as to a hero.
Then seeking to alleviate his grief in war, he set out, as
it were, to a hunt and chase of men, for he fell upon
the Cossæans, and put the whole nation to the sword.
This was called a sacrifice to Hephæstion's ghost. For
his tomb and funeral rites, and the honours paid to his
memory, he proposed to allot a sum of ten thousand
talents; and desiring by the beauty of the workmanship
and the singularity of the design to outdo the expense,
his wishes turned, above all other artists, to Stasicrates,
who always in his projects promised something bold,
unusual, and magnificent. Once when they had met
before, Stasicrates had told him, that of all the moun-
tains he knew, that of Athos in Thrace was the most
capable of being adapted to represent the shape and

lineaments of a man; and if he pleased to command him, he would make it the noblest and most durable statue in the world, which in its left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and out of its right should pour a copious river into the sea. Though Alexander declined this proposal, yet now he spent a great deal of time with workmen to invent and contrive others even more extravagant and sumptuous.

73 As he was upon his way to Babylon, Nearchus, who
 Visit to
 Baby-
 lon, B.C.
 323.*
 Twelfth
 year in
 Asia.
 had sailed back out of the ocean up the mouth of the river Euphrates, came to tell him he had met with some Chaldean diviners, who had warned him against Alexander's going thither. Alexander however took no thought of it, and went on, and when he came near the walls of the place, he saw a great many crows fighting with one another, some of whom fell down just by him. After this, being privately informed that Apollodorus, the governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, to know what would become of him, he sent for Pythagoras, the diviner, and on his admitting the thing, asked him, in what condition he found the victim; and when he told him the liver was defective in its lobe, "Ah!" said Alexander, "a great presage." He did Pythagoras no hurt, but was sorry that he had neglected Nearchus's advice, and stayed for the most part outside the town, lodging there in his tent, and sailing up and down the Euphrates. He was disturbed also by many other prodigies. A tame ass fell upon the biggest and handsomest

* Or 324; the space of time which, according to one arrangement of the dates, was spent on the confines of India, comes in according to the other arrangement here, and was spent in Babylonia. Alexander's death is either way in 323.

lion that he kept, and killed him by a kick. And one day after he had undressed himself to be anointed, and was playing at ball, just as they were going to bring his clothes again, the young men who played with him perceived a man clad in the king's robes, with a diadem upon his head, sitting silently upon his throne. They asked him who he was, to which he gave no answer for a good while, till at last coming to himself, he told them his name was Dionysius, that he was of Messenia, that for some crime of which he was accused, he was brought thither from the sea-side, and had been kept long in prison, that Serapis had but now appeared to him, had freed him from his chains, conducted him to that place, and commanded him to put on the king's robe and diadem, and to sit where they found him, and to say nothing.

Alexander, when he heard this, by the direction of 74 his soothsayers, put the fellow to death, but he lost his spirits, and grew diffident of the favour of the gods, and suspicious of his friends. His greatest apprehension was of Antipater and his sons. Iollas, one of these, was his chief cupbearer; and Cassander, who had lately arrived, and had been bred up in Greek manners, the first time he saw some of the barbarians adore the king, could not forbear laughing at it aloud, which so incensed Alexander, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and dashed his head against the wall. Another time, Cassander would have said something in defence of Antipater in reply to those who accused him, but Alexander interrupting him, said, "What is this? Do you think people, if they had received no injury, would come such a journey only to calumniate your father?" To which when

Cassander replied, that their coming so far from the evidence was a great proof of the falseness of their charges, Alexander burst into a laugh, and said *these were some of Aristotle's sophisms, serving on both sides; which should cost them that used them dear, if they were found guilty of the least injustice.* All which made such a deep impression of terror in Cassander's mind, that long after, when he was king of Macedonia, and master of Greece, as he was walking up and down at Delphi, and looking at the statues, at the sight of that of Alexander he was suddenly struck with alarm, he shuddered, and shook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and it was long before he recovered himself.

- 75 When once Alexander had given way to fears of
B.C. 323. supernatural influence, his mind grew so disturbed and so easily alarmed, that if the least unusual or extraordinary thing happened, he thought it a prodigy or a presage; and his court was thronged with diviners and priests, whose business was to sacrifice and purify and foretell the future. So miserable a thing is incredulity and contempt of divine power on the one hand, and so miserable, also, superstition on the other, which like water, to a lower level, flowing in and never stopping, fills the mind with slavish fears and follies, as now in Alexander's case. But upon some answers which were brought him from the oracle concerning Hephæstion, he laid aside his sorrow, and fell again to sacrificing and drinking; and having given Nearchus a splendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his custom, just as he was going to bed, at Medius's request he went to join in a revel of his. Here he drank all the next day, and was attacked with a fever, which seized him, not as

some write, after drinking off the bowl of Hercules: nor was he taken with any sudden pain in his back, as if he had been struck with a lance; for these are the inventions of some authors who thought it their duty to make the last scene of so great an action as tragical and moving as they could. We learn from Aristobulus, that in the rage of his fever and a violent thirst, he took a draught of wine, upon which he fell into delirium, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Dæsius.

But the journals give the following record. On the 76 eighteenth of the month, he slept in the bathing-room on account of his fever. The next day he bathed and removed into his chamber, and spent his time in playing at dice with Medius. In the evening he bathed and sacrificed, and ate freely, and had the fever on him through the night. On the twentieth, after bathing and sacrificing as usual, he lay in the bathing-room and heard Nearchus's narrative of his voyage, and his account of the great sea. The twenty-first he passed in the same manner, his fever still increasing, and suffered much during the night. The next day the fever was very violent, and he had himself removed and his bed set by the great bath, and conversed with his chief officers about finding fit men to fill up the vacant commands. On the twenty-fourth he was much worse, and was carried out of his bed to assist at the sacrifices, and gave order that the general officers should wait within the court, whilst the inferior officers kept watch without doors. On the twenty-fifth he was removed to his palace on the other side the river, where he slept a little, but his fever did not abate, and when the generals came into his chamber, he was speechless, and

continued so the following day. The Macedonians, therefore, supposing he was dead, came with great clamours to the gates, and menaced his friends, so that they were forced to admit them; the doors were opened, and they all passed through unarmed along by his bedside. The same day Python and Seleucus were despatched to the temple of Serapis to inquire if they should bring Alexander thither, and were answered by the god, that they should not remove him. On the twenty-eighth in the evening, he died.

- 77 This account is most of it word for word as it is written in the diary. At the time, nobody had any suspicion of his being poisoned, but upon some information given six years after they say Olympias put many to death, and scattered the ashes of Iollas, then dead, as if he had given it him. There are some who affirm that Aristotle counselled Antipater to do it, and that by his means the poison was brought, adducing one Hagnothemis as their authority, who, they say, heard king Antigonus speak of it, and telling us that the poison was water, deadly cold as ice, distilling from a rock in the district of Nonacris, which they gathered like a thin dew, and kept in an ass's hoof; for it was so very cold and penetrating that no other vessel would hold it. But most are of opinion that it is all a mere made-up story, no slight evidence of which is, that during the dissensions among the commanders, which lasted several days, the body continued clear and fresh, without any sign of such taint or corruption, though it lay neglected in a close, sultry place. Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much honoured by the Macedonians, being jealous of Statira,

induced her by a counterfeit letter, to come; and when she had her in her power, killed her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which they filled up with earth, not without the privity and assistance of Perdiccas. For he, in the time immediately following the king's death, under cover of the name of Arrhidæus, whom he carried about him as a sort of guard to his person, exercised the chief authority. Arrhidæus, who was Philip's son by an obscure woman of the name of Philinna, was himself of weak intellect; not that he had been originally deficient either in body or mind; on the contrary, in his childhood, he had showed a happy and promising character enough. But a diseased habit of body, caused by drugs which Olympias gave him, had ruined not only his health, but his understanding.



Coin of Alexander.

THE END.

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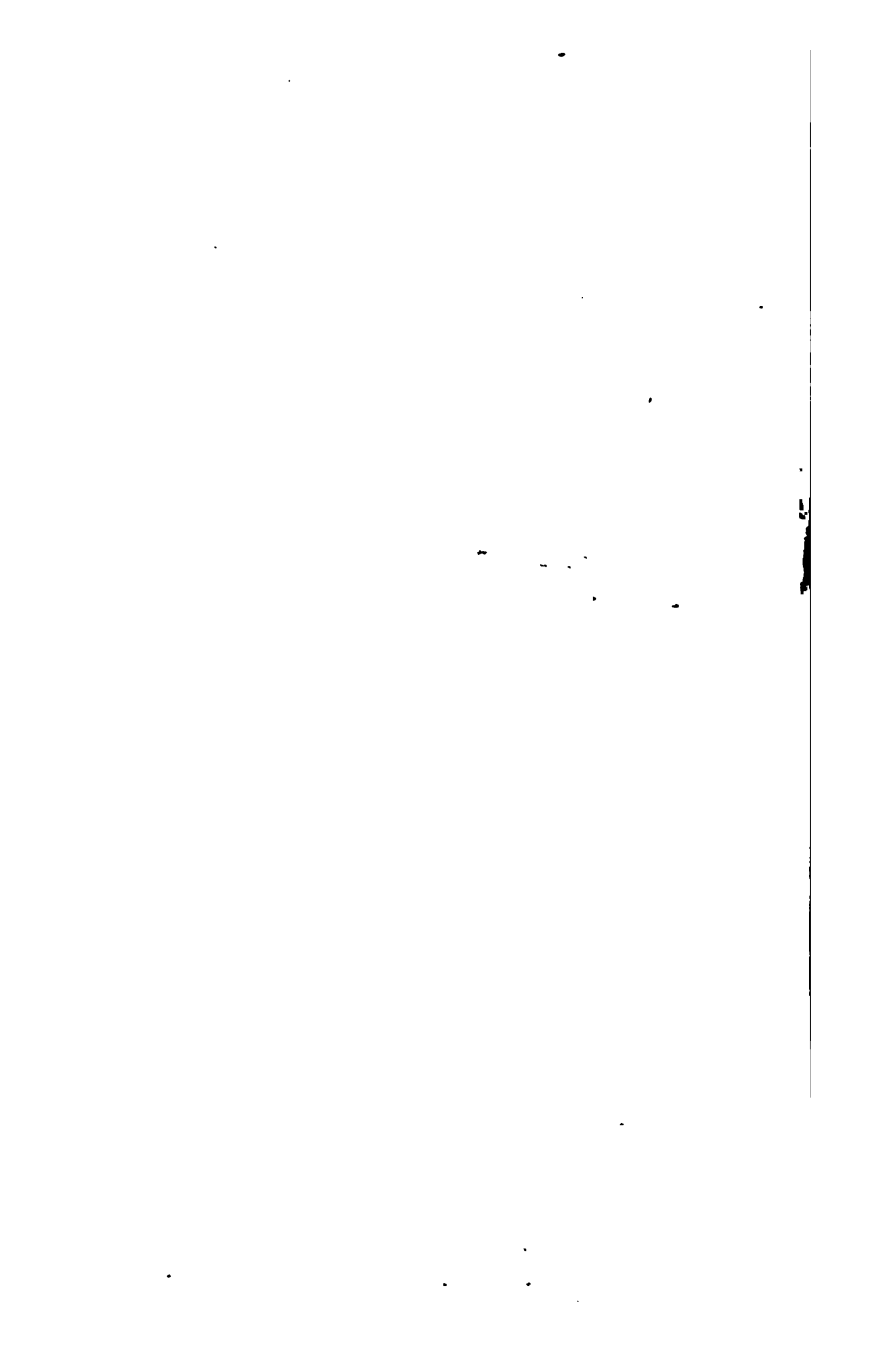
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